JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
TN 2 1
MAR 18 1985

March 16, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

DEFEAT WITH HONOR

After a year of hardship and determination, the British miners voted to end their strike on March 3, even though they had no agreement with the National Coal Board about pit closures and no promise of amnesty for the 700 miners fired during the strike. Some union officials have called for a guerrilla campaign against the Coal Board, and miners at a few pits have decided to stay out until the sacked men are rehired. But there are no immediate gains to soften the defeat.

The miners are the militant backbone of the British labor movement, and the strike was widely regarded as the great last battle between Thatcherism and the working class. Anticipated and prepared for by the government, it became a national symbol of resistance, drawing support from unexpected quarters. There will inevitably be acrimony and recriminations in mining communities and the trade union movement and against the Labor Party leadership, whose support for the strike was lukewarm at best. But the miners' decision to end the strike collectively rather than allow the trickle of workers back to the pits further to erode the union made tactical sense. Most important, the strength, coalitions and organizing skills developed during the long winter will be a valuable legacy.

If there is any hope to be found in the strike's conclusion, it is that the absence of a settlement will reflect badly on Margaret Thatcher. She has proved once again that her policies can only sharpen divisions, not heal them. The end of the strike brings no catharsis or national reconciliation; the miners have been starved back to work, but they have held their moral ground. Opinion polls suggest that Thatcher's popularity is finally waning. The defeat of the "enemy within" may leave the Prime Minister more starkly exposed against the bleak background of her economic policies.

THE OLD CURMUDGEON
William Attwood

REAGAN'S FIRST-STRIKE QUIZ
Howard Morland

ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC MESS
Milton Viorst

A NOT-SO-INNOCENT EYE
George Kearns

GLENN GOULD: PHONOGRAPHER
Evan Eisenberg

FAY WELDON
Alice Denham

SOLZHENITSYN SPEAKS

UNDOING THE WEST IN THE SOVIET UNION

Has Radio Liberty become a mouthpiece for ultranationalist Soviet émigrés? Congress is beginning to wonder. In 1982 the Reagan Administration appointed George Bailey, a close associate of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, to direct the U.S. government-financed station. To promote "creativity" among émigré broadcasters Bailey repealed the station's strict guidelines on script content and fired several American program managers supervising the work of broadcast editors. He also brought in a group of Soviet émigrés who share Solzhenitsyn's extreme views.

The station's strident line eventually came to the attention of Claiborne Pell, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who urged the General Accounting Office to investigate. Its report is due later this month; the committee will then hold hearings on the matter.

Not all Soviet dissidents in the West approve of Solzhenitsyn's polemics, as the following article demonstrates. —*The Editors*

VADIM BELOTSERKOVSKY

The most influential voice of anti-American and anti-Western propaganda heard in the Soviet Union today is that of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Through a network of Russian-language radio stations, presses and publishing houses in the West, the Nobel Prize-winning novelist and his émigré followers criticize democracy as harshly as they do Communism. Journals from *Kontinent* in Munich to *Veche* and *Vestnik* in Paris, as well as YMCA Press and the newspaper *Russkaya Mysl'* in Paris, trumpet Solzheni-

(*Continued on Page 306*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNC-CHG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

ENDLESS ENEMIES

Sag Harbor, N.Y.

My name and supposed doings have been bandied about in your pages on three occasions, with considerable error, beginning with Alexander Cockburn's amicable defense of me against Jonathan Kwitny's libelous accusations in *Endless Enemies* that I was covertly working for the C.I.A. and lying to my editors and readers while covering Iran for *The New York Times* in 1953 ["Beat the Devil," May 26, 1984].

In your "Letters" column of July 7-14, 1984, Kwitny compounded his libels by adding, among other stupid and false inferences and patently invented quotations, that I had distributed "a pile of C.I.A. propaganda . . . in downtown Teheran" and had concealed the U.S. role in overthrowing Premier Mohammed Mossadegh. After incorporating a lengthy genuine paragraph of mine in his letter, he wrote that it "certainly suggests" either that I personally "went with the tanks" he says I directed in the battle at the Premier's house or that I "made up" my "vivid account." Inferences like that would flunk him out of Journalism 101.

Then Cockburn returned to the fray, roasting me, his "injured friend" of yesteryear, for "suing Jonathan Kwitny for libel" and urging me to "drop the suit. . . . Get on with your memoir, in which you can give your side of the story and piss on Kwitny to your heart's content" ["Beat the Devil," Jan. 26].

Leaving aside the commonplace unwisdom of getting into a pissing match with a skunk, to stuff a memoir with self-serving, score-settling polemics against a slipshod slanderer is bad style, silly history, intrinsically ephemeral and boring. Let me now hasten to enlighten Cockburn and anyone else still interested in this squalid story as unfolded in the pages of *The Nation* that my first three causes of action are for copyright infringement, namely Kwitny's stealing 5,000 words of mine for a key chapter.

Putting them in quotation marks and crowing in a footnote that they were winkled out of the Allen W. Dulles papers at Princeton University on the sly may be a defense against plagiarism. It is no defense against copyright infringement, to wit, theft of my stock in trade. Taking money for selling my words packaged in his own is an injury to which he added insult by cloaking his pilferage in vicious professional slander. And since I am suing him for white-collar theft I might as well sue him at the same time for the reckless and malicious libels he used as a smokescreen.

I am not alone in applying epithets to Kwitny's work like slander, innuendo, slipshoddiness, dishonesty, phony quotes, triviality. I refer interested readers to the rash of letters in *The Wall Street Journal* on October 1, 1984, which Kwitny provoked by his reportorial treatment of Geraldine Ferraro.

Kennett Love

KWITNY REPLIES

New York City

When I first read Love's account of the Iranian coup several years ago, I found it one of the most shocking and enlightening documents that ever crossed my desk. I invite readers to check it out and compare it to the radically different accounts that appeared under Love's byline in *The New York Times*. Sadly, it is Love's version in *The Times* that has become accepted history, and that was taught to me in college (I quote my old textbook, too, in *Endless Enemies*), rather than the stunning truth that the United States overthrew Mossadegh and forced the Shah on Iran. Long before *Endless Enemies* came out, I called Love and told him that I considered his long-secret work (which bears no copyright notice) to be an excellent, in fact vital, document for public understanding of foreign policy. I asked him if, after twenty-five years, he intended to publish it himself. He said he had no plans to do so. I said I wanted to include substantial chunks of it in my book because people need to read it, and he didn't object. Shortly before publication, I wrote him again, announcing my intention to do this. He admits receiving the letter and not replying.

Readers who examine his paper and his *Times* articles can then judge my characterizations for themselves. I am satisfied that except for one nonsubstantive dating error, which is being corrected in future editions, my account is wholly accurate. As for my suggestion that Geraldine Ferraro's husband's business activity seemed suspicious to me, I will give him the last word on that. It was, as I recall from accounts of his court appearance, "Guilty."

Jonathan Kwitny

COCKBURN'S TWO CENTS

New York City

From his syntax it almost seems that Love is saying I was wrong to write that he was not an agent of the C.I.A. in 1953. But since I assume he's not taking that unexpected tack, what was wrong with the first discussion of his case in these pages? Kwitny was responsible for the second, and in the third I reported that Love is suing Kwitny for libel. Love now confirms this, so why does he insist that *The Nation* has been misreporting his deeds?

Alexander Cockburn

QUOTING THE LEFT

Princeton, N.J.

In his rather muddled review of William Shawcross's *The Quality of Mercy*, Richard Falk asserts "In the case of Cambodia, intellectuals on the left *were* initially reluctant to acknowledge the gory realities of Communist rule and tended to dismiss them as C.I.A. plots" ["Mixed Motivations," Jan. 19].

Professor Falk means, presumably, that the *reports* of those realities were so dismissed, but confusion of language is not the principal problem with his review.

There is "the left" and then there is the left. Many Marxists wrote extensively about the Khmer Rouge long before it took power: the mindless authoritarianism, the denunciation of all others as traitors, the pseudo-radical rhetoric assailing urban dwellers and intellectuals and the absence of a program remotely resembling workers' democracy.

When the citizens of Phnom Penh and other cities poured into the streets to welcome the Khmer Rouge guerrillas—only to be rounded up like cattle—the pages of serious left periodicals resounded with denunciation of the ruthless forced march of workers, students, civil servants and entire urban populations into labor camps and worse.

Falk's "left" may have refused to acknowledge personal accounts of mass murder at the hands of the Khmer Rouge (many from the Cambodian left), but many on the left throughout the world did not require the Vietnamese invasion to sanction the repudiation of atrocity masquerading as socialism.

Similarly, serious people on the left had reported on the character and program of the Ayatollah Khomeini's mullahs during the Shah's reign and much before the dismissal of President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr denied apologists the illusion of inclusion.

What is at issue is the will to defend socialist democracy before and during the struggle—above all, against those who debase good coin by passing off murderous counterfeit.

Dissembling after the fact extends discredit where it does not belong.

Ralph Schoenman

FALK REPLIES

Princeton, N.J.

Ralph Schoenman presents himself as the spokesman of the true left, but he coyly leaves us to guess exactly whom he has in mind. Quite possibly he is referring to certain sectarian leftist groups, generally identified with the Trotskyist strain in Marxist politics. It is true that those groups have often courageously exposed failures on the left, but they have done so with such venom and false certitude that their influence has been restricted severely.

In my view, both Cambodia and Iran presented far more complicated and contradictory realities than those dogmatists of the left

(*Continued on Page 308*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 240, Number 10

LETTERS
290

EDITORIALS
289 Defeat With Honor
291 Middle East Thaw?
292 The Missing Tape
293 Chain of Fools
294 The Weeks That Were: The Curmudgeon Sets Us Straight *William Attwood*

COLUMNS
295 Minority Report *Christopher Hitchens*
296 Uncivil Liberties *Calvin Trillin*

Drawings by Tony Auth

ARTICLES
289 Solzhenitsyn Speaks: Undoing the West in The Soviet Union *Vadim Belotserkovsky*
297 Answer Time for Reagan: Are We Readying a First Strike? *Howard Morland*
300 The Reckoning Comes Due: Israel Faces Its Economic Mess *Milton Viorst*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
309 Shattuck: The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature and the Arts *George Kearns*
310 Page, ed.: The Glenn Gould Reader *Evan Eisenberg*
313 Minimal and Mystical *Frank Rose*
315 Weldon: The Life and Loves Of a She-Devil *Alice Denham*
316 Theater *Paul Berman*

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Micah L. Sifry; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Philip Gordon, Laird Harrison, Deanna Jordan-Schmidt, Maura Sheehy, Ilena Silverman, Francis Wilkinson. *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Mark Rausher; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Regular Subscription Price:* One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days, foreign) of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Middle East Thaw?

For years Washington has steadfastly said that it refuses to talk with any representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization until the group accepts U.N. Resolution 242 as the basis for a peace settlement in the Middle East. Last month Yasir Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan signed an accord which, among other things, endorses total withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 "as established in United Nations and Security Council resolutions." Most observers thought this formulation represented a significant breakthrough. But in a recent interview, Arafat complained bitterly about U.S. officials' "shameful response" and "hypocritical" refusal to recognize the P.L.O. "They called for an agreement between Arafat and King Hussein," the P.L.O. leader said, "but when we signed it, they asked us for more. There is no wish to arrive at a peace settlement."

He accused the United States and Israel of displaying the "arrogance of power" and criticized the State Department's assertion that the accord was only a step in the right direction—"10 percent" of what the P.L.O. must do before the Administration will recognize it. "This is not a 'step,'" Arafat said. "This is a strong platform, but the United States is completely ignoring it."

Ultimately, only the Palestinians and the Israelis can make the peace. Washington is a party to the conflict only

MAR 19 1985 The Sherrod Library East Tennessee State University Johnson City, Tennessee 37614

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by proxy; despite what some Arabs say, the United States could never "impose" a settlement on Israel. But it could play an important role by initiating talks with the faction of the P.L.O. that has endorsed the Arafat-Hussein accord. Such talks would influence Israelis by legitimizing the idea that an exchange of territory for peace is possible. Israel is militarily and politically stronger than the P.L.O., so it has the most to lose in negotiations, which by definition would require it to compromise. Consequently, Israeli hard-liners oppose talks with any Palestinians, representatives of the P.L.O. or not. The tactic of ignoring the Palestinians will soon outlive its usefulness, however. The closer Arafat and the moderate faction of the P.L.O. come to abandoning armed struggle, the more politically difficult it will be for Israeli leaders to ignore genuine Palestinian demands.

There are signs that Israel recognizes this in its ambiguous rejection of the Arafat-Hussein accord. Prime Minister Shimon Peres admitted to reporters that the accord represented a promising formula for talks—so long as the Palestinians who participated were not known officials of the P.L.O. The accord also prompted Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak to initiate a small peace offensive of his own, to which Peres responded favorably. The next step could be a Peres-Mubarak summit meeting to thaw the "cold peace" that set in between Egypt and Israel after the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. A renewed Egyptian-Israeli dialogue could precipitate the long-expected split in the Labor and Likud coalition government. Peres is said to be contemplating early elections in a gamble to win a mandate to rule without Likud. The opening of talks with Jordan, long sought by Israel, could provide Peres with an opportunity to establish himself as a strong-willed successor to Menachem Begin. All in all, there are more grounds for optimism about a Middle East settlement than there have been in a long time.

The bad news comes from Washington. Curiously, the United States is the one party playing hard to get. Arafat is right to complain about the Administration's feeble response to what most observers consider major concessions on his part. It is true that Arafat has not explicitly endorsed U.N. Resolution 242 or recognized Israel. But he has generally endorsed all the relevant U.N. resolutions, and at its meeting in Amman last November, the Palestine National Council made it clear that Al Fatah, Arafat's faction of the P.L.O., is willing to settle for a return of the West Bank and Gaza to Palestinian control under a confederation with Jordan. Also, P.L.O. officials have repeatedly said that they are willing to work out an arrangement with Israel whereby there could be simultaneous mutual recognition.

Obviously, a strong third party like the United States could help paper over the rhetorical gaps between the two antagonists. But President Reagan, unlike Jimmy Carter, has never had the political courage to risk a peace initiative in the Middle East. From his decision to sign a strategic agreement with Israel to his sending the Marines to Lebanon, he has been flying by the seat of his pants in the region. Now that Arafat has virtually met Washington's conditions for negotiations, the Administration is playing dumb. Not really dumb, though: plain stupid, considering that after four years in office, Reagan is unable to claim a single diplomatic achievement.

The Missing Tape

In the August 18-25, 1984, issue, *The Nation* published David Pearson's investigation into the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Coming nearly a year after a Soviet fighter shot the 747-200B Superjet out of the sky over Sakhalin Island, Pearson's article was the first in the American press to thoroughly scrutinize the official U.S. account of the tragedy. The story concluded with seventeen questions—all aimed at determining what U.S. officials knew about the affair and when they knew it.

Although the article provoked a modest flurry of publicity (Pearson was interviewed on the *Today* show, for example), the questions it posed were largely ignored by the press—with the notable exception of *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker. Administration officials scoffed at the story and offered quasi denials. Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, could do no better than call the article "pure baloney," adding that he was "aware of absolutely no evidence to suggest" that the United States knew the airliner was off course prior to its downing. The seventeen questions went unaddressed.

Last week a new question was added to the list. In a Federal court in Washington, it was revealed that the U.S. Air Force had destroyed a tape that showed the course taken by Flight 007. According to testimony in a lawsuit against the U.S. government and other parties, brought by relatives of almost all the passengers on Flight 007, the Air Force Regional Operations Command Center at Anchorage had tracked the airliner on radar after its takeoff and recorded at least part of its flight path.

What happened to the tape? It is standard Air Force procedure to impound any information relating to an air disaster. But in this instance the Air Force recycled the tape. The reason? According to *The Washington Post*, Jan K. Von Flatern, an attorney with the Justice Department, told the court that the Air Force "had no idea that it was going to be involved or that that data would be useful in the litigation at any point."

Before being recycled, the tape was stored for either thirty hours or fifteen days, according to conflicting statements by Von Flatern during the trial. In either period, the Air Force would have known that it had hot property. Yet the tape wasn't preserved. One need not be a conspiracy theorist to ask why the tape was destroyed—as lawyers for the families did.

From the beginning, the Administration placed a tight rein on information about Flight 007. For instance, it has released only the voice transmissions of the Soviet pilots, not those of their ground controllers, though it possesses those tapes or has access to them from the Japanese government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The pattern of suppressing information has been consistent. Three hours after the plane plunged into the Sea of Japan, the Anchorage office of the National Transportation Safety Board was notified that the plane was missing. It began to investigate. Early the next morning, the Anchorage office was told to send immediately all the material it had gathered to headquarters in Washington. From there, the information was sent to the State Department. The Anchorage office was notified that it was off the case and that the State Department would conduct the investigation. The transfer removed the data from the custody of an agency that had no power to classify it and sequestered it in the State Department. The latter has wrapped the flag of national security around much of the information on the case.

The affair of the destroyed tape is further evidence that the government has been less than candid about the downing of K.A.L. 007. Whether the tape was lost as the result of a foul-up or a cover-up, its destruction prevents us from determining its relevance. Could it have provided independent corroboration—or refutation—of official accounts?

We do not pretend to know the full story of the downing of K.A.L. 007. We do know that the Administration has not told the American people the whole truth. That is why *The Nation* is following up Pearson's story. We expect to publish the results of our investigation in the coming months. Our primary purpose is, as it always has been, to prod Congress into conducting a full inquiry into this still-murky incident which increased tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Chain of Fools

Despite the balmy weather, Washington looked a lot like Moscow last month, as Lieut. Gen. John T. Chain Jr., director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, declared Leslie H. Gelb, *New York Times* national security correspondent, an unperson. Chain forbade his staff to speak with Gelb, who headed the bureau from 1977 to 1979, removed Gelb's photograph from the gallery of former directors, and replaced it with a sign saying that Gelb "did willingly, and knowingly, publish in 1985, classified information, the release of which is harmful and damaging to the country."

On February 13 and 14 *The New York Times* published articles by Gelb that revealed U.S. contingency plans to deploy nuclear depth charges in Canada, Iceland, Bermuda, Puerto Rico, Spain, the Azores, Diego Garcia and the Philippines in the event of crisis or war. When reports about the plans appeared in the foreign press in December and January, officials in those countries, who had not been told about them by Washington, protested. Iceland's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and members of the Bermudan and Canadian press had got the information about the deployment plan from William Arkin, an expert on nuclear weapons and a researcher at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington; Gelb verified it independently.

Gelb's crime was letting the American public know what had already been reported in newspapers in Iceland, Bermuda and Canada. *The New York Times* says it chose not to reveal more sensitive information in its possession. Viewed from a different perspective than General Chain's, that self-censorship allows the government to be the sole judge of what the public may know.

The people of allied countries should have a voice in whether American nuclear weapons are deployed in their territory. And the people of this country should have a voice in setting American nuclear policy. But they can't participate in the debate if the government withholds important information, as this Administration is well aware. The real target of General Chain's campaign is not Gelb but Arkin, who deserves great credit for bringing the deployment plan to the attention of the governments affected by it, and anyone else who values the public's right to know above the government's right to conceal. Ultimately, the target is free public discussion. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger charged that Arkin's purpose in releasing the information "would certainly seem to be to try to destroy [NATO] and to create all kinds of suspicion and this is exactly what the Soviets also have been trying to do." Eventually, such smear tactics will backfire.

Readers of *The Nation* may recall that Howard Morland, whose "Are We Readying a First Strike?" appears on page 297 in this issue, caused a flap in 1979 when *The Progressive* published an article by him describing the design concept of the hydrogen bomb. Morland demonstrated the importance of demystifying official secrecy. So have Arkin and Gelb.

General Chain has removed the sign casting a slur on Gelb, although he has not restored the picture. Perhaps he could learn something from George Orwell's Winston Smith, who had the job of removing unpersons from the history books. On one occasion, after his surgery left a large hole in the record, Smith invented a fictional hero. Chain might replace the missing picture with one showing the Administration's ideal journalist—blindfolded, earmuffed, handcuffed and sporting a "We're No. 1" T-shirt.

COMING UP

The New Right's Assault on the Press:
The Real Meaning of the Westmoreland Case

By Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir

"'The public's right to know' is a code for the Manhattan Adversary Culture's desire to wrap the 1st Amendment around its attack on the politicians, government and institutions of Middle America."

—Kevin Phillips, Human Events
January 13, 1973

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEKS THAT WERE

The Curmudgeon Sets Us Straight

Well, these past few weeks have been a strenuous time for those of us who support the Second American Revolution and want to defend President Reagan against the yapping of his rad-lib critics in the press. As that great man Jesse Helms said, "The real threat to our constitutional system is on our TV screens every evening and on the front pages of our newspapers every day."

For starters, at his last press conference the President warned the commie Nics to say uncle. About time we told off that "militarist behemoth"—which is what Gen. Paul F. Gorman, former commander of U.S. forces in Central America, aptly called Nicaragua. We seem to forget that, as Presidential assistant Faith Whittlesey put it recently, Nicaragua is only two days' drive from the Texas border. Even if you allow three days, considering the state of the Mexican highway system, those grubby bandits could be swarming across the Rio Grande before we know it.

At his press conference, the President also denounced Soviet violations of strategic arms agreements. "They were taking nuclear-missile submarines out of action but they were cutting them down and rebuilding them as cruise-missile-carrying submarines," he said. But the usual detractors went to work. Reuters (a foreign news agency, incidentally) dug up a White House report of February 1 which stated, "The Soviet Union's conversion of a dismantled SSBN into a submarine longer than the original and carrying modern, long-range cruise missiles is not a violation of its political commitment under the SALT I interim agreement." Trust the Reagan-hating *New York Times* to run this story under the impudent headline "President Contradicts Study Sent to Congress."

Fortunately, an Administration official (probably Pat Buchanan, the new resident expert on the venality of the press) quickly pointed out that Moscow had at least violated the spirit of agreements to limit sea-based nuclear weapons, because long-range cruise missiles are as great a threat to the United States and its allies as are ballistic missiles.

Is it any wonder that George A. Keyworth 2d, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology, decided to put his foot down? On February 22 he declared that "the press is trying to tear down America" and that most journalists seem "to be drawn from a relatively narrow fringe element on the far left of our society." They favor an "ideal world where, for example, foreign policy is dominated by human rights." I sleep better at night, knowing that Keyworth is in the White House.

George Shultz has also been supporting his chief 200 percent. At a press conference last month, he shoved Nicaragua behind the Iron Curtain, where it belongs. He also one-upped the rad-libs, who keep complaining because Chile doesn't have free elections, by sending Langhorne A. Motley, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, to Santiago. As he departed, Motley said that Chile's future was "in good hands" under Gen. Augusto Pinochet, and that elections are possibly scheduled for maybe as early as 1989! Guatemala's another country the so-called human rights advocates complain about, even though its government has promised elections next year. Never mind that none of the parties there favor land reform; obviously no one wants it. Only thirty-one years ago, the C.I.A. ousted the left-of-center Arbenz regime and installed Castillo Armas and the military. And now—elections! Score another touchdown for the C.I.A., which successfully eliminated that old crackpot Mohammed Mossadegh a year earlier and put the Shah on the throne of Iran, where he'd still be if Jimmy Carter and his détenteniks, who gave away the Panama Canal, hadn't pulled the rug out from under him.

Last month, there was some disagreement between the Defense Department and the C.I.A. about Soviet military expenditures. (The C.I.A. was quoted as reporting a slowdown, while Weinberger said the buildup is unabated.) O.K., there's bound to be little disagreements in any large organization, and that's a healthy thing.

But there was unanimity on New Zealand's craven refusal to allow port calls by U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons. As Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz said in Honolulu, that policy will increase the threat of nuclear war. Anyone who looks at a map can see that our ships would have to refuel in New Zealand on their way to bombard Vladivostok if the Hawaiian Islands were nuked in another Pearl Harbor.

What else? Oh, yes. Beryl Sprinkel, the new chair of the Council of Economic Advisers, came right out and said that a big deficit doesn't drive up interest rates. It's good to know we've got a sound economist in the White House at least, instead of that gloomy gus Martin Feldstein, who was always complaining.

Another complainer we could do without is the president of Amtrak, W. Graham Claytor Jr., who bewailed the Administration's plans to end the railroad's $684 million subsidy. He claimed it would cost more in the long run to shut the railroad down than to keep it running. What tunnel-visioned people like him don't realize is that $684 million goes a long way toward paying for a bomber and that without a strong defense we won't even have railroads. But you can't argue with bureaucrats. You just have to bite the bullet, wipe out the subsidy and become the first developed country in the world without a passenger rail service. We should think of it as another first for the U.S.A.—which was first with the telephone, first with the A-bomb and first on the moon.

Yes, indeed, it's been quite a time, and rest assured there's more to come. For as Thomas Dewey used to say, "Our future lies ahead."

WILLIAM ATTWOOD

William Attwood is a former publisher of Newsday.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

The idea of blasting Senator Jake Garn into orbit has its superficial attractions, and the press has been quick to see the funny side of the scheme. This robotoid figure, with its mechanical right-wing reflexes and its automatic obedience to command, is a fit successor to the luckless chimps who blazed America's trail to the stars. But the show-biz qualities of the event should not be allowed to obscure, as they are meant to, the abuse of both NASA and the Senate. The Garn mission, at a second and third glance, reveals itself as part of the softening-up process by which the Reagan Administration is nudging Congress and the public toward acceptance of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

For a start, Garn has no business on the space shuttle. If you peer at the Constitution, in particular the well-known "incompatibility clause" in Section VI, you find the following:

> No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

And as Ralph Nader recently reminded the Senator, the judgment in *Van Ness CL. and H.E. Cas. 122* states equally plainly:

> The acceptance by any member of any office under the United States, after he has been elected to and taken his seat in Congress, operates as a forfeiture of his seat.

So the idea of Senator Garn as a "payload specialist," apart from its absurdity and from the injustice it does to qualified NASA personnel who have to wait in the queue, is a negation of senatorial independence. His mission, furthermore, continues the process by which the shuttle, once the pride of civilian space technology, is becoming an actual and a propaganda vehicle for Star Wars.

According to Air Force Lieut. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative, there is to be an acceleration in the exploitation of the shuttle for Star Wars. Very soon, two missions a year will be devoted to advancing this harebrained scheme (or, employing the hypocritical language of the moment, to "researching" it). The missions are scheduled to begin within the next eighteen months. According to Abrahamson, who used to head the shuttle program, "The key point is that I am trying to get people to understand that the flexibility of the space shuttle offers some good ways to begin to get additional data." What the general reveals by this deathlessly fluent admission is that the distinction between "research" and "deployment" is official deceit. He does not even pretend otherwise. "What we have done is moved the program forward and started a sequence of two flights per year every year on the shuttle in pointing and tracking," he said recently. "With these flights we will build up so that in 1989 we will hopefully be much better off than we would have been if we had waited for Talon Gold [the canceled Lockheed system]—the output will be more accurate and appropriate toward our real pointing requirement."

The militarization of NASA is not new. About 15 percent of its budget is already committed to military projects, or to projects for which the Pentagon and the National Reconnaissance Office are the only customers. Development of a space nuclear reactor, a project of NASA, the Energy Department and the Defense Department, is already scheduled. The reactor will help power space weapons and probes, lasers, radar and cannons. It is a building block and platform for Star Wars. By such surreptitious means, NASA is being converted from an agency with a military aspect into a pseudocivilian agency that acts as a front for the proponents of the next arms race.

According to *Aviation Week and Space Technology* General Abrahamson's staff

> is generating a list of experiments that could be done on the upcoming shuttle flights that he expects will involve one-half of a shuttle payload for each SDI flight. He will piggyback those experiments on Defense shuttle missions whenever possible but also said he hoped he could piggyback some of them on commercial or NASA flights without significant SDI security problems.

The political and ideological fronts are also being well "covered." A confidential memorandum from the Heritage Foundation has just been brought to light by the Council on Economic Priorities. The document brazenly proposes "a radical approach that seeks to disarm Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) opponents . . . by stealing their language and cause (arms control)." It identifies BMD correctly as a "right-wing cause because assent to a pro-BMD position generally means subscribing to a whole array of other 'conservative' pro-defense arguments or programs." Having placed *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the Roman Catholic bishops on an "enemies list," Heritage defines its objective clearly, if ungrammatically, as one which "aims at keeping the BMD program alive in 1984 and to make it impossible to turn it off by 1989."

It was at Heritage and other centers of the hard right that the Star Wars plan was incubated, and those responsible are certainly correct in their supposition that momentum, once achieved, will be irreversible. Already, the research budget for BMD or SDI or what you will is comparable to the budgets for the MX missile and the B-1 bomber at the production stage. The American people are once again being sold a bill of goods, and for once the term "astronomical" is an appropriate one.

Senator Garn is doing his best, by compromising his office, to lend a Congressional seal to this operation. The ravenous contractors are doing their best. After a few more shuttle missions, taxpayers will find that another "feasibility study" has turned into a full-fledged project. Today's innocent-looking star wares will become the hard technology that will orbit above our crumbling factories and cities, while adding another set of hairtriggers and fail safes to a system that is already beyond rational control.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

The person at the office we call Harold the Committed suspects that I'm not keeping myself informed on the war between Iran and Iraq. He's right. Keeping yourself informed on a war has something in common with watching a football game on television: it's not much fun if you don't care who wins. If you'd just as soon see both sides lose, it's no fun at all. A pacifist friend of mine used to grow gloomy every year on the weekend of the Army-Navy football game. When we'd ask what was troubling him, he would always say, "About all you can hope for is that one side or the other suffers a defeat of humiliating proportions."

Harold the Committed suspects that I sometimes skip the entire Sunday edition of *The New York Times*. He's wrong about that. I'll admit that I don't read *The Times* as thoroughly as Harold does. He has imposed on himself a very strict regimen for getting through the entire paper on Sunday. He begins sharply at 9, and he is allowed only one half-hour break before lunch—to watch *Face the Nation*. The rules about finishing are strict: if he hasn't completed every section except Travel and Real Estate by 2, he is required to read the editorials all over again.

I concentrate on the wedding announcements, myself. From reading about the background of the bride and groom, I try to imagine what sort of tension there will be at the reception. Last Sunday, for instance, when I read about the nuptials of Hatcher Thatcher Baxter 3d, almost all of whose ancestors signed the Declaration of Independence, and Mary Catherine Garrity, whose father, Timothy, was described in a way that led me to believe he is a subway motorman, I couldn't help but wonder whether Tim Garrity would feel the need to knock back a few with the boys before finally facing the sort of people he thought he had raised his daughter to despise, and if so, what effect that would have on the wedding toasts.

That doesn't leave me much time for the war between Iran and Iraq, but I'm not the only one not keeping himself informed on that war. I'm convinced that a lot of people get Iran and Iraq mixed up, so they don't know who to root for. It's as if both teams were wearing red jerseys. Also, a lot of people who actually can tell Iran and Iraq apart suspect that they're fighting simply because they've both been driven around the bend by having been mixed up with each other all these years. Iran and Iraq must blame each other for the confusion. How would you feel if you decided to change your name from Mesopotamia to Iraq for the usual reasons—it fits better in headlines, it sounds less foreign—and then a country right next door that has a perfectly good name of its own, Persia, started calling itself Iran? How would you like it, on the other hand, if you changed your name to Iran for absolutely appropriate reasons—your country happens to be on the Iran River, one of the world's great salmon- and trout-fishing streams—only to find out that an obscure country right next door has started calling itself Iraq for no earthly reason (since "iraq" is the Arabic word for door hinge)? It would be embarrassing for either one of them to change back, so about the only thing to do is to have a war.

I think I would be keeping myself better informed on it if I thought it was a war that Denmark had any chance at all of winning. I root for Denmark. If you know anything bad about Denmark, I don't want to hear it. I've never been to Denmark myself, and I avoid stories about it in the Sunday *Times*. I'm afraid I might find out that Denmark persecutes a Finnish minority or underpays its goalie or something, and then I'd be left with no one to root for. Except, of course, the United States of America—my home team. I was a strong rooter for the U.S.A. in World War II. I kept myself very well informed on that war, even though I was only a child. My father had told me that when the U.S.A. won that war we'd have bubble gum again. You might say I had a stake in that war. Also, as soon as the U.S.A. won that war, I could quit collecting newspapers for General Eisenhower. I hated collecting newspapers for General Eisenhower. I couldn't imagine what he wanted with that many copies of *The Kansas City Star*. After a while, I began to envision General Eisenhower sitting over in Europe somewhere behind a sort of fortress of newspapers, chewing bubble gum.

Of course, I've kept myself informed on some wars I didn't have a stake in. Several years ago I got very interested in the war between Yemen and South Yemen. What intrigued me was that as far as I could tell from the maps of the battlefront, South Yemen is not south of Yemen—except for a tiny smidgen, like the tiny smidgen of Missouri that is east of Arkansas. South Yemen is mostly east of Yemen, except for some of it that's actually a little bit north. Also, South Yemen happens to be a lot bigger than Yemen, so by rights it should have been called Yemen and the other place should have been called West Yemen or maybe even South Yemen. That, I told Harold, was obviously the reason for the war. "I'm from Missouri, Hal the C," I said, "and I can tell you that if everyone started referring to Missouri as East Arkansas, we'd fight." Harold shook his head and said the point of the war was which Yemen was a "Soviet client" and which was an "American client." When Harold talks like that, he can make a perfectly good war sound like a brawl in the waiting room of a claims lawyer.

Apparently, *The Times* carried another one of those stories about clients last Sunday—or maybe another report on the war between Mesopotamia and Persia—because at the office the next day Harold the Committed asked me if I had read the Sunday *Times* carefully.

"You bet, Hal the C," I said.

"Well, what do you think?" he said.

"I think Garrity's going to get up and tell the Baxters that he hasn't met such a bunch of stiffs since he visited Madame Tussaud's wax museum the time he went to London on the Knights of Columbus tour," I said. In the wedding-announcement section, I usually know who to root for.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

ANSWER TIME FOR REAGAN

We Readying trike?

ND

resident Reagan must send a report ss that could be the most important it an American President has ever made nuclear war. The report will be a response osed to him last year by members of Conited States building a strategic nuclear force attacking and disarming the Soviet Union? public demands candor, the document is likely to ie important issues and be ignored by Congress and press.

Two years ago the Scowcroft commission on strategic forces was given the task of justifying funding for the MX missile to House moderates. Those busy drafting the first-strike report must justify the President's program to modernize U.S. strategic forces, "including specifically the MX missile, the D-5 Trident missile, and the small single-warhead missile [Midgetman]." Critics say those weapons could be used in a first strike because they are designed to pulverize the underground silos that protect the missiles in the Soviet Union.

The law ordering the report says it must include "a specific definition of what United States counterforce capability would constitute a so-called 'first-strike capability' against the Soviet Union [and] an assessment of corresponding Soviet counterforce and first-strike capabilities."

That language was drafted last year by then-Representative (now Senator) Albert Gore Jr. and inserted into the Defense Authorization Act. A preliminary version of Gore's amendment cited a letter the President sent to Representative Norman Dicks on May 11, 1983, in which Reagan stated: "Let me emphasize that we do not seek a first-strike capability. To this end, we have constrained the number of Peacekeeper [MX] missiles that we plan to deploy to the minimum number needed to assure the effectiveness of our deterrent and no more." Gore is now asking the President to state how he arrived at that number and to explain why production of Trident D-5 and Midgetman missiles, which the President had not mentioned, should not also be limited.

A U.S. first-strike capability would upset the nuclear balance and could provoke the Russians to launch a preemptive strike. During the first two decades of the nuclear arms race, when the United States had an overwhelming first-strike capability by default, frightening the Russians was not a problem. There was nothing they could do about it. Now that they can destroy us in a half-hour, a U.S. first-strike capability might place Soviet weapons in a use-them-or-lose-them situation.

Clearly, no sane national leader now or in the conceivable future would use the first-strike capabilities available. Their reliability and accuracy is too uncertain. A first strike would require coordinating thousands of people under conditions of absolute secrecy. If even a hint of what was going on leaked out, the adversary might launch a pre-emptive "retaliation." Even if all of the target country's missiles were wiped out, it could still smuggle a few dozen warheads into the attacker's cities and detonate them. Moreover, the effects of such a strike—ozone depletion or nuclear winter—might destroy the aggressor. To launch a first strike would be risking suicide.

Despite those drawbacks, the only discernible military purpose of the nuclear arms race in the 1980s is to acquire a first-strike capability or to prevent the enemy from acquiring one. Calculations about first-strike capability are central to all serious discussions about nuclear strategy and arms control. My estimates (how I arrived at them is explained on the following page) show that if the United States adds MX and Trident D-5 missiles to its nuclear arsenal, the present stalemate will erode to the detriment of the Soviet Union by 1995. Today, 3,600 Soviet strategic warheads would survive a U.S. surprise attack; by January 1995 the number could drop to 700. The United States, on the other hand, would still have 4,500 survivable warheads at the end of the decade (see Figures 3 and 4). Slightly different but plausible assumptions regarding the vulnerability of sea-based forces show that the Soviet Union would have virtually *no* survivable warheads in 1995, while the U.S. retaliatory capability would remain secure. If these war-game calculations are valid, Soviet leaders would have greater reason to fear a first strike, precisely the situation that Gore was concerned about and that President Reagan said "we do not seek."

A U.S. first strike today would destroy less than one-third of the Soviet land-based missile silos. By 1995, using the multiwarhead MX and Trident D-5 missiles, a U.S. first strike could eliminate all but 2 percent of those silos. This is especially terrifying from the Russians' perspective because two-thirds of their strategic warheads are deployed on land. It is true that a Soviet first strike in 1995 would destroy 98 percent of U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile silos, but less than one-fifth of all U.S. strategic warheads are based on land; 81 percent of them are deployed on submarines and bombers that are less vulnerable than their Soviet counterparts. As Figure 3 shows, ICBM warheads make up only a small portion of the survivable U.S. retaliatory force today. Despite the Administration's assertion that the Russians threaten American ICBMs with first-strike weapons—the so-called window of vulnerability—the U.S. and Soviet forces are structured so differently that a threat to missile

Howard Morland is disarmament coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, based in Washington. He is the author of The Secret That Exploded *(Random House).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST-STRIKE CAPABILITIES

United States & Soviet Strategic Arsenals

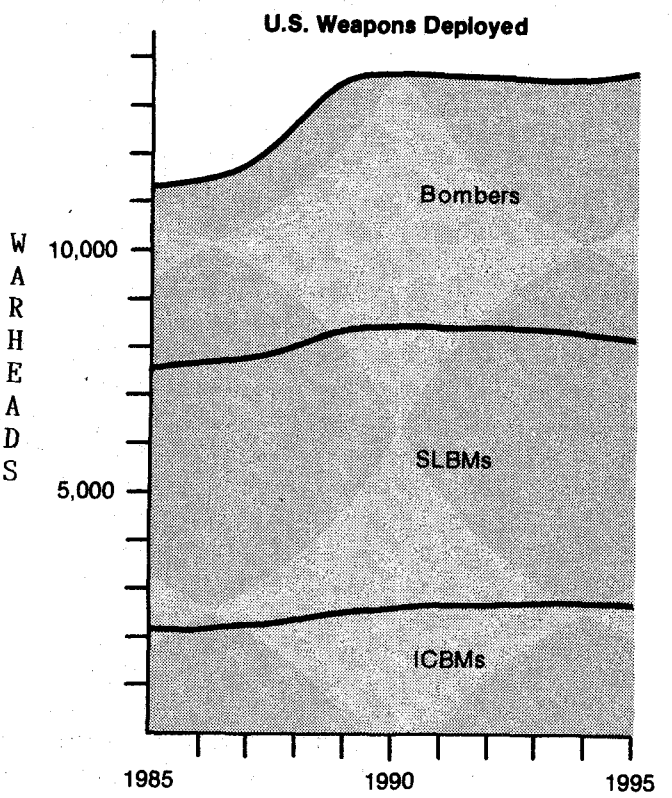


Figure 1

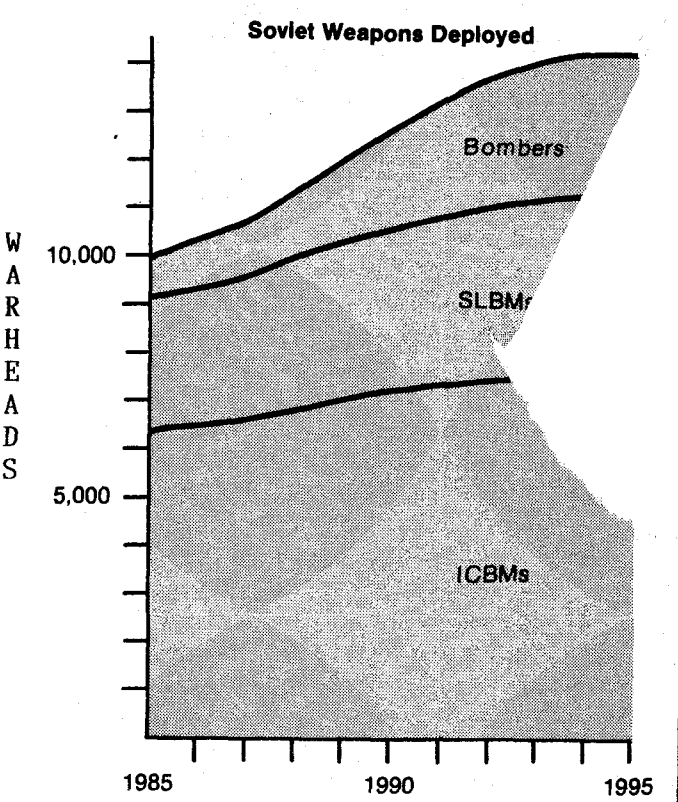


Figure 2

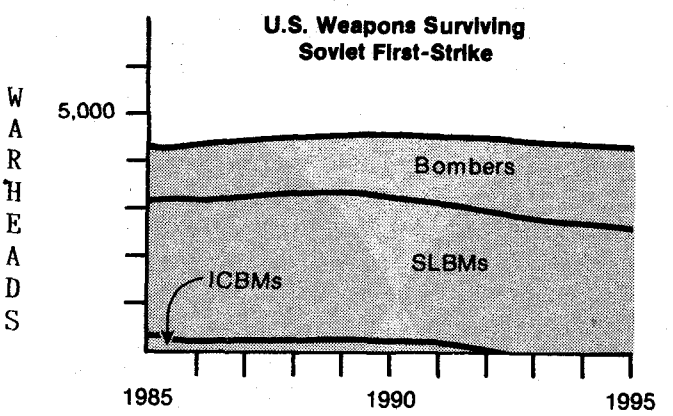


Figure 3

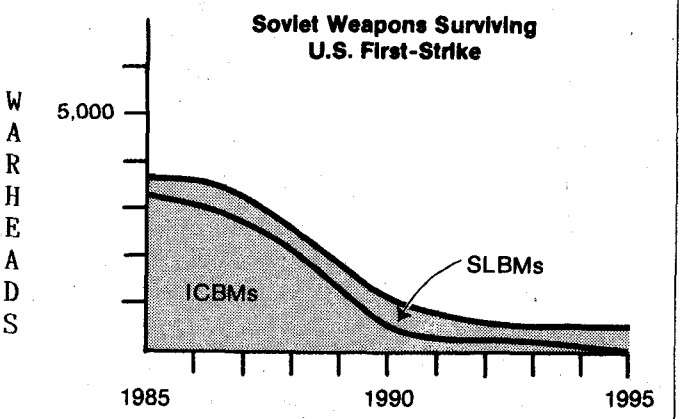


Figure 4

Deployment of 100 MX missiles and 300 Trident D-5 missiles during the coming decade could degrade the "survivability" of Soviet strategic weapons and give the United States a first-strike capability.

These graphs show the total number of strategic nuclear warheads deployed on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and long-range bombers. Figures 1 and 2 show weapons deployed before an enemy surprise attack, assuming that both superpowers stay within the limits of SALT II. Figures 3 and 4 show how many weapons are expected to survive a worst-case attack in the year indicated on the horizontal axis. (In a worst-case attack, the aggressor nation achieves total surprise at a time when the victim nation's forces are deployed at their normal alert rates.)

This analysis assumes that all submarines in port and all bombers not on alert are destroyed, while all submarines at sea and all bombers on alert survive. Any ICBM not in an underground silo is destroyed; the small number of mobile ICBMs deployed during this decade are vulnerable to barrage attack. ICBM silos are destroyed according to the standard formula for measuring missile effectiveness, assuming two attacking warheads on each silo and a 5 percent nonobservable warhead failure. U.S. silos are given a 2,000 psi hardness rating, and Soviet silos are given a 4,000 psi hardness rating. The attacking nation uses its most accurate missiles to strike the silos containing the largest numbers of warheads.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

silos does not endanger our overall force as much as it does theirs.

The high survivability of the U.S. nuclear arsenal results from keeping about half the Poseidon and Trident submarines at sea at all times and 30 percent of the B-52 and FB-111 bombers on alert, ready to take off within minutes. The Russians keep 15 percent of their submarines at sea and none of their bombers on alert. Apparently, they have confidence in the survivability of their ICBMs, but if a threat to their silos develops, as I suggest it might, they may wish to put more of their submarines out to sea and place some of their bombers on alert.

That would not be easy. Soviet submarines are designed to spend most of their time in port. They do not have back-up crews, and their maintenance requirements make it difficult for them to undertake a long cruise and go out again immediately. Furthermore, because they are noisy they can be tracked at sea with relative ease. The Kremlin thus cannot be confident that their submarines are safe from attack, and the aggressive U.S. antisubmarine warfare program is designed to keep them thinking that way.

The Scowcroft commission argued that U.S. bombers could be destroyed on the ground by submarine-launched missiles, which reach their targets in ten minutes, but that those missiles are not accurate enough to destroy hardened missile silos. The Soviet ICBMs, which are accurate enough to destroy Minuteman silos, would take thirty minutes to reach their targets, enough time to get the bombers off the ground. Thus the United States would lose either the missiles or the bombers, but not both. Therefore, they said, it was all right to base the MX in vulnerable Minuteman silos, since the Russians wouldn't attack given the circumstances. After 1990, however, the Soviet Union will face a different situation. The submarine-launched Trident D-5 missile is supposed to be accurate enough to hit silos and fast enough to catch bombers on the ground.

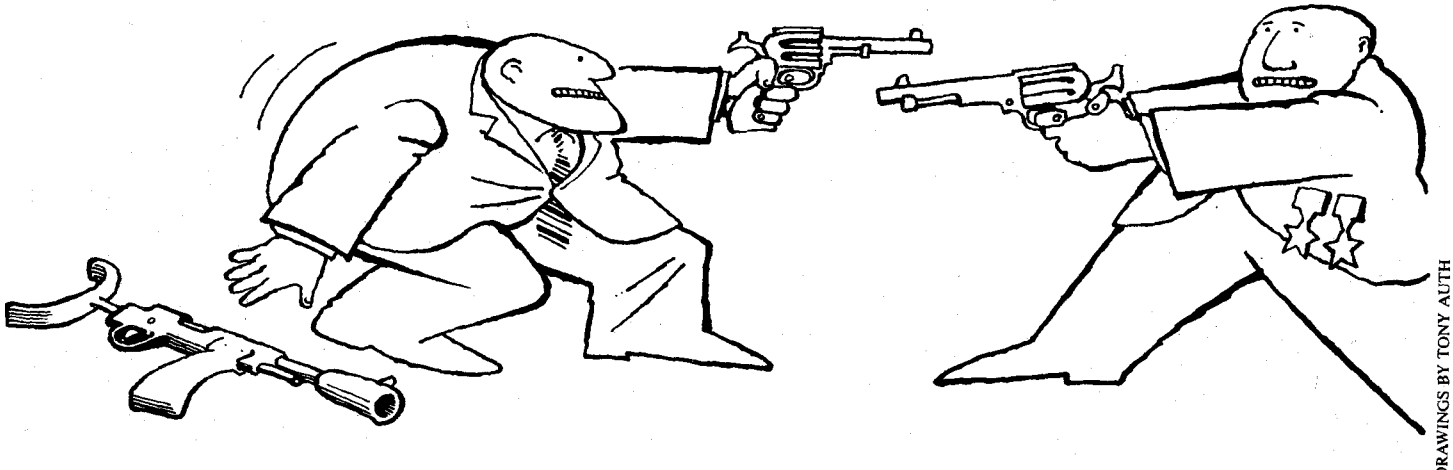
Bombers that are kept on continuous alert at a large number of air bases deep in the interior of the continent would theoretically escape destruction by submarine attack, but that option would require a major expansion of the Soviet strategic bomber force in a very short time.

Recently, the Pentagon accused the Russians of "hardening" their silos in order to nullify the effect of the U.S. missile modernization program. According to the standard formula for measuring missile effectiveness, which I have used in my calculations, a doubling of missile accuracy can be nullified by an eightfold increase in silo hardness. The only U.S. ballistic missile that threatens Soviet silos today is the Minuteman 3; the MX, Trident D-5 and Midgetman missiles are designed to be twice as accurate as it is. I have assumed that the present Soviet silos have a hardness rating of 4,000 pounds per square inch (psi). Thus, to counteract the MX and D-5's greater accuracy, the Russians would have to enhance their silos' hardness rating to 32,000 psi. There are plenty of reasons to think they would not be able to undertake such a massive construction program.

If, as my calculations suggest, all three legs of the Soviet strategic triad become vulnerable, Moscow would be strongly tempted to place its ICBMs in a high state of readiness so that they could be launched before U.S. missiles could destroy them—the much-dreaded launch-on-warning. This would put a hairtrigger on the balance of terror.

The only way to avoid that situation is to cancel the MX, Trident D-5 and Midgetman missile programs, and negotiate a mutual, easily verifiable moratorium on all ballistic missile flight tests. Such a moratorium is the most important element of the nuclear freeze proposal because it would prevent the United States from testing any new missiles. It would also prevent the Russians from developing more accurate submarine-launched missiles.

Setting aside "sanctuaries" for ballistic missile submarines would also be a good idea. Parts of the Arctic and North Pacific Oceans could be declared off-limits to antisubmarine warfare, thus insuring the security of each side's undersea launchers. If the sanctuaries were established close to the submarines' home territory, the superpowers would have an incentive to deploy their vessels farther from enemy territory, increasing their missiles' flight time and



DRAWINGS BY TONY AUTH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reducing the threat to the other side's bombers.

People who disagree with these recommendations may also question my authority to speak on this subject. The basis of my authority is simple; it is mathematics. I am a private citizen who, using a personal computer, has made the same kind of calculations that Pentagon planners make on their mainframe computers. All it takes is a set of plausible assumptions, a few well-known formulas and some numbers to plug into them. The math can be done on a $25 TI-35 pocket calculator, but a BASIC program on a floppy disk makes the work go faster.

Pentagon strategists have arrived at the same results as I have. The January issues of *Air Force Magazine* and *Armed Forces Journal International* published identical graphs showing the number of Soviet ICBMs expected to survive a U.S. first strike in the years from 1982 to 1992. Both graphs are titled "Soviet ICBMs in Sanctuary," and they show a decline in survivability if the MX is deployed. The curve has the same shape as the plunging ICBM curve in my Figure 4.

Nevertheless, the authors' conclusions are far different from mine. The caption in *Air Force* reads: "Unless Peacekeeper [MX] is fielded to put these hardened silos at risk, the sites become an unassailable sanctuary. This would give the Soviet Union a strategic advantage and the leverage that goes with it." The leverage it would give the Russians is reduced anxiety about a U.S. first strike. Therein lies the crux of the nuclear debate.

It is ironic that this aspect of the nuclear arms race has not entered the public debate. Apparently most Americans cannot conceive that we could ever threaten the Soviet Union with a nuclear Pearl Harbor. The architects of this threat strategy insist that the threat will never be carried out but add that we must have the capability of carrying it out. Otherwise, we cannot assume a "force projection" posture, which allows "escalation dominance" and protects our overseas allies with a "nuclear umbrella."

There is a persistent myth that America's only goal in the arms race is to protect itself against nuclear attack. President Reagan's Star Wars program helps to perpetuate that notion and distracts attention from the first-strike missile race. But that race is under way and stopping it is the main reason, aside from cost, to support a nuclear weapons freeze.

Sincere arms control advocates, including the founders of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, have long opposed either superpower's attaining of a first-strike capability. It follows that until nuclear disarmament is achieved, both superpowers have the right to maintain a retaliatory capability and that preserving the stalemate called MAD—mutually assured destruction—is our best hope for the present.

President Reagan has won a sympathetic response by condemning MAD and promoting Star Wars. Yet his military program calls for developing the ability to strike first and weaken the Russians' retaliatory force. In his letter to Norman Dicks, Reagan implies that U.S. policy is based on deterrence, that it will guarantee enough Soviet missile silos an "unassailable sanctuary" to assure the Kremlin leaders of America's peaceful intentions. He can't have it both ways.

The President's report will be interesting if it is written honestly and if it is not heavily classified. He needs to resolve the contradiction between his missile procurement program and his no-first-strike promise to Representative Dicks. The tricky part will be justifying any weapon that would target Soviet missile silos—under any circumstances—thereby punishing Soviet leaders for the restraint they have showed by leaving a missile in it to be destroyed. □

THE RECKONING COMES DUE

Israel Faces Its Economic Mess

MILTON VIORST

Economics is a political science, but Israeli statecraft from 1977 to 1984 was, by any reasonable definition, scarcely political, much less scientific. Rather, during the era of Menachem Begin and his successor, Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli policy seemed the product of a collective frame of mind bordering on the pathological. In those years, the Likud government established a pattern of decision-making that warrants being described as deliberately and knowingly self-destructive. The economy was one of its victims.

A small country with limited resources, living in a state of strategic insecurity, highly dependent on friendly nations (the United States in particular), Israel conducted its affairs as if it were a major power, invulnerable, answerable to no one. It attacked its neighbors recklessly, squandered its money, defied the patron that was the ultimate guarantor of its survival, trifled with international public opinion and, finally, launched a war that exceeded the country's capacities and its needs. It suffered, in short, from a national psychopathology, a massive delusion of grandeur.

Presumably this illness can be cured, but the cure will take years. On the basis of a recent visit, however, I will say that the process has begun, though I realize that what I saw may be merely a remission.

Conventional wisdom in the United States—or, to be more precise, the contention pushed relentlessly by Israel's champions—makes the financial crisis out to be a result of Israel's unavoidably huge military budget. Those expenditures have grown steadily since the Six-Day War. It is ironic that since Israel destroyed its neighbors' armies in 1967, its defense expenditure has, as a percentage of the Gross National Product, more than doubled. Military spending is currently about $5 billion a year. Half of it, however, is covered by U.S. aid. The balance comes to about 10 percent of the G.N.P., substantially higher than President Reagan's

Milton Viorst, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *specializes in Middle East affairs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

goal of 7 percent for the United States. Nonetheless, it is well within the means of a people willing to live austerely in the interest of national security.

The problem is that from 1977 to 1984, the Likud government told Israelis they did not have to practice austerity. Likud imagined Israel as a country not obliged to take account of its economic limitations. Israelis were not called on to choose between West Bank settlements and videocassette recorders, between rising military expenditures and soaring consumer subsidies, between war in Lebanon and pleasure trips abroad. They were told they could have it all. In some measure, that attitude proceeded from a confidence that Washington would pick up the tab, which it usually did. Even more, it was the product of an ideological self-righteousness, a belief that the government's course was so right, so just, so God-given, that any measure taken to realize it was proper.

Likud's economic policy was characterized by ideological insolence. Its critics called it populist economics; Likud preferred to call it "correct" economics. Its chief architect was Finance Minister Yoram Aridor. On the eve of the 1981 election he decided to overvalue the shekel grossly, flooding the country with cheap consumer goods from Europe and Japan, artificially swelling the standard of living and delighting the masses. By reducing prices briefly, the move even permitted Aridor to boast of being an inflation fighter.

The government knew how it was damaging the economy, running up huge debts in foreign currency, all but pricing Israeli exports out of the market. But thanks to Aridor, Likud, a heavy underdog six months earlier, won the election and, in the intoxication of victory, perpetuated his loose-money policies. Riding high with a satiated constituency that would support its every move, Likud embarked on the policy that blanketed the West Bank with settlements and led directly to the invasion of Lebanon. Two years later, the Israeli banking system collapsed, and Aridor was forced to resign. When the Likud government itself fell last summer, inflation was soaring toward 1,000 percent and the balance-of-payments crisis was nearly out of hand.

When Shimon Peres's "wall-to-wall" coalition government took office last fall, it regarded the economy as its top priority, but the Prime Minister and the men closest to him recognized that the challenge was to change the political environment. Israelis had to be persuaded that they themselves—not Washington, not openhanded world Jewry, not the legerdemain of a printing press endlessly turning out banknotes, not God—were responsible for economic stability. They had to recognize that the reckoning for the mindless excesses of consumption had come due. They had to put aside the notion that the standard of living would rise inevitably and be prepared for it to plunge. Perhaps most important, they had to understand it was time to lower their voices, give up their slogans, curb their combativeness and replace ideology with reason in dealing with Israel's problems, of which the economy was number one.

To the credit of Peres and the Israeli public, the country has made a start along this road. It is not irrelevant to economic considerations that Israel has faced up to its military limitations and begun the long-awaited withdrawal from Lebanon, that it has taken steps to patch up its "cold peace" with Egypt and has made overtures to Jordan's King Hussein which, if not substantive, are at least warm. Nor is it irrelevant that the Knesset rejected the divisive "Who is a Jew?" amendment on religious conversion which was promoted by Orthodox fanatics and supported by Likud hardliners. Peres's style has been to work quietly, often behind the scenes, to avoid confrontation and win over wavering Knesset members by persuasion. He has softened partisanship and brought a number of opposition members over to his side.

On economic issues, he has sought a consensus by negotiating the support of labor and industry before making major decisions. I know of no other government faced with an economic crisis that has adopted such a technique. It has impaired the state's capacity to act swiftly and decisively. It has left Peres vulnerable to charges that he is weak and uncertain. It has surely slowed the process of recovery, as defined in strictly economic terms. But Peres understands the virtues of being a healer, and his search for consensus has reduced stress in a society that has been riven for most of a decade. Rather than imposing the "ideal" economic measure, he obtains public assent to sacrifices which will help slowly clear up the economic mess.

It took no great perspicacity on the politicians' part to recognize what the economy required. The government had to cut its budget drastically and stop printing money. Labor unions and industry had to accept a price freeze, which in practical terms would mean wage cuts and reduced profits. The currency had to be devalued to alleviate the chronic balance-of-payments crisis, sharply aggravated—as Peres's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

luck would have it—by the expiration of the ten-year moratorium on the debts run up after the 1973 Yom Kippur War. It took hard bargaining, but in November the government, business and labor agreed on a three-month package deal to get the recovery process moving.

No one has claimed that the package deal, which expired February 2, was a smash hit. Inflation fell to about 5 percent a month, and the public enthusiastically supported the wage-price freeze. However, because devaluation ran up the dollar cost of imported commodities, chiefly grain and oil, the government had to spend heavily to keep prices to the consumer stable. While the foreign deficit grew, the printing presses kept rolling, and economists complained that since the drop in inflation was produced in defiance of economic laws, it would be only temporary. Indeed, the government did not keep its commitment to reduce spending. Consumer subsidies rose, defense spending remained the same and other budgetary outlays fell only slightly. The government admitted it had failed to deal with the causes of inflation, though it disagreed with the economists who said its policies had accomplished nothing.

In an interview, Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i said:

> We wanted to establish a condition of stable prices to permit people and the government to regain the habit of living within a budget, which is impossible with 500 or 1,000 percent inflation. We also had to gain time to make cuts in public spending. We succeeded in the first goal much better than expected, thanks to the public attitude. I'll admit the improvement in inflation was temporary, but it was nonetheless a change. It had to be followed by actual cuts in expenditures. I've been arguing with the Minister of Defense for months. He is fighting to protect the country, but I am too. Getting the ministers to cut their budgets has been harder than getting the public to cut consumption. The government has lagged far behind.

Peres's relationship with Moda'i, Likud's man, is an interesting one. Moda'i is known as a hard-liner and a partisan, but both he and Peres are, by temperament, technocrats. The two have adopted a kind of good-cop/bad-cop routine: Peres talks consensus, while Moda'i pushes for budget cuts that will create unemployment, diminish government services and reduce the standard of living. For economic reasons, Moda'i has compromised on his political goals and endorsed an end to the occupation of Lebanon and a freeze on settlement in the West Bank. Although aware that whatever success he has is more likely to benefit Peres and the moderates than Likud and the hard-liners, he has rejected the notion of Likud promoting an economic policy of its own. In spite of party antagonism, he and Peres make up the core of an economic team that is more competent and more responsible than any Israel has had in years.

When the year-end figures came in, it was apparent that they could claim some successes. While the G.N.P. held steady in 1984, imports fell by 4 percent and private consumption by 7 percent. Unemployment approached double digits, but productivity was up and the government's fears of social unrest had proved unfounded. Thanks to devaluation and slackening domestic demand, exports rose by approximately $1 billion, cutting the trade deficit nearly in half, and most of the growth was in high-technology industry, Israel's hope for the future. The bad news was that foreign currency reserves fell drastically and foreign debt service reached a new high, leaving Israel tottering on the brink of bankruptcy.

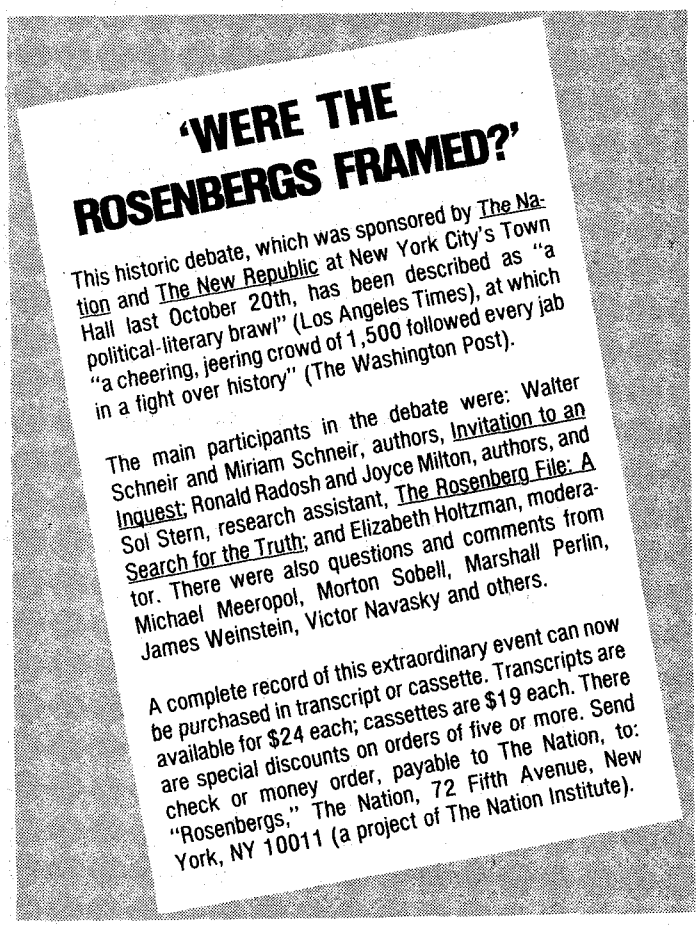
That is where America has become crucial. Israel owes most of its foreign debt to the U.S. treasury, although Likud added a heavy burden of short-term obligations with expanded commercial borrowing during its last years in office. The usual practice for meeting the kind of debt situation Israel faces is to call in the International Monetary

U.S.S.R.-CHINA

Peace and Friendship Tour Around the World

July 13 to August 10 29 Days $3495

Includes transportation from New York, around the world to San Francisco, first class hotels, 3 meals daily (except 2 days with breakfast only), sightseeing, excursions, all transfers, many theatre evenings and friendship meetings. Depart from New York to Moscow. Then Leningrad, Tashkent, Irkutsk. On to Mongolia, Peking, Shanghai, Xian (Terra Cotta warriors), Hong Kong and San Francisco, where the tour ends. Limited to 25 participants. Phone (305) 427-4779 or write PROGRESSIVE WORLD TOURS, Box 345, Deerfield Beach, FL 33441.


'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'
This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall last October 20th, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).
The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.
A complete record of this extraordinary event can now be purchased in transcript or cassette. Transcripts are available for $24 each; cassettes are $19 each. There are special discounts on orders of five or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (a project of The Nation Institute).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION INSTITUTE AND THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
INVITE YOU TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE ON

The Journal of Critical Opinion

APRIL 12–14
THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

PURPOSE

Our idea is to bring together editors, publishers and staff of dozens of journals to discuss the theory and practice of putting out these publications. It is the premise of this conference that these journals are not, contrary to conventional wisdom, throwbacks to the age of print or historical curiosities which persist via culture lag. We believe that these journals contribute in countless ways to the nation's political culture. They keep the mainstream media honest, put new issues on the national agenda and challenge operating assumptions. They are open to experiments in politics and culture, are fierce guardians of forgotten traditions, consider interpretation an essential part of reportage, monitor the invisible aspects of the system, are organizing tools, talent scouts, muckrakers and gadflies. They are the ultimate advertisement for the First Amendment.

PANELISTS

● ROBERT CHRISMAN, editor-in-chief and publisher, *The Black Scholar* ● DEIRDRE ENGLISH, executive editor, *Mother Jones* ● CHARLES PETERS, editor-in-chief, *The Washington Monthly* ● R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR., editor-in-chief, *The American Spectator* ● IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ, editor-in-chief, *Transaction, Social Science and Modern Society* ● MICHAEL KINSLEY, editor, *The New Republic* ● PETER STEINFELS, editor, *Commonweal* ● CYNTHIA KLING-JONES, former publisher, *Nuclear Times* ● WILLIAM RUSHER, publisher, *National Review* ● CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES, editor, *Foreign Policy* ● ERWIN KNOLL, editor, *the Progressive* ● WILLIAM PHILLIPS, editor, *Partisan Review* ● EDITH KURZWEIL, executive editor, *Partisan Review* ● MURRAY POLNER, editor, *Present Tense* ● JEFF ESCOFFIER, executive editor, *Socialist Review* ● FRANK RIESSMAN, editor, *Social Policy* ● GEOFFREY RIPS, editor, *The Texas Observer* ● HILTON KRAMER, editor, *The New Criterion* ● BRENNON JONES, executive director, Interlink Press Service ● JOSEPH EPSTEIN, editor, *The American Scholar* ● WAYNE COWAN, editor-in-chief, *Christianity and Crisis* ● JAMES WEINSTEIN, editor and publisher, *In These Times* ● HAMILTON FISH 3rd, publisher, VICTOR NAVASKY, editor, *The Nation*, and others.

WORKSHOPS

The Role of The Journal of Critical Opinion ● The Impact of the New Technology ● Postal Regulations ● Ideology and Function ● Culture and Politics ● Ownership and Editorial Policy ● Opportunities for Cooperation.

REGISTRATION FORM

CONFERENCE ON THE JOURNAL OF CRITICAL OPINION
If pre-paying, please make check or money order for $150* payable to:
The Nation Institute: Independent Journals Conference,
72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

*Limited scholarship assistance may be available upon request to students and individuals. Inquiries: Jane Oski (212)242-8400. Registration forms but not fees are required by March 31.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on the CULTURE WARS.
Stephen F. Cohen on the SOVIET UNION.
Mindy Aloff on DANCE.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you. And as a gift for friends, too.

Add your voice to ours.
Special Introductory Rate for New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

D8510

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND!
(And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $____ for ____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
☐ Bill me later.

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8510

Fund. But Israel can avoid the I.M.F.'s strict disciplinary measures because the United States, which has promised to provide $2.5 billion in aid annually, has also become its lender of last resort.

Sensitive to Israel's political strength in the United States, Washington has rarely refused Israel anything. But recently Secretary of State George Shultz, himself an economist, has argued that Israel, having got itself into this fix, must take stern action as the price of American emergency assistance. Since last fall, both Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin have traveled to Washington in search of money and have returned empty-handed.

Israeli governments in times past would have responded petulantly to such refusals and would have mobilized their Washington lobby to bring about a reversal. But Peres and Moda'i have adopted a low profile in dealing with Washington, and the Jewish lobby has followed along.

"If you go to your banker for a private loan, he asks questions, doesn't he?" Moda'i told me, expounding the government line. "That's quite understandable. The Americans have interests here, which is why they help us, and they want a healthy economy. Their position has been quite reasonable." The message Peres and Moda'i tacitly convey is that they welcome Washington's discipline. It helps them make a case for austerity in their bids for consensus at home.

Late in January, a few days before the first package deal expired, the government successfully negotiated a second one, which will run for eight months. The workers agreed to accept a 7.5 percent cut in wages, the employers to absorb increased import prices through reduced profits. The government announced it would raise $1 billion more in taxes and promised to cut about $2 billion in consumer subsidies and other budget items as a means of bringing down inflation. Peres described the agreement as "unprecedented in a democratic society"; Moda'i called it "a milestone in Israeli history." Washington responded cautiously, waiting for the follow-through, but it seems Israel has met the minimum conditions to qualify for a bailout from the United States of at least a half-billion dollars to deal with its payments crisis.

Whether Israel can maintain or, better still, accelerate the momentum of recovery is not clear. For the moment, most Israelis appear persuaded the economy is indeed the country's most important concern, but powerful segments of the society believe otherwise. Many religious Israelis openly disparage "consensus," looking to Likud to theocratize the state and Judaize the West Bank. Chauvinist Israelis, despite the setback in Lebanon, are nostalgic for Likud's aggressive foreign policy, which carried Israeli military power to the far reaches of the Middle East.

Their hero is Gen. Ariel Sharon, scourge of Palestinian fedayeen and *Time* reporters. A strident nationalist with a gift for demagogy, Sharon appeals to the underprivileged masses of Israel, who brought Menachem Begin to power. Deliberately disruptive, Sharon believes he can become prime minister by appealing to a constituency that has no stake in social stability.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING:

THE NATION FACT-FINDERS

SPACE LIMITED
RESERVE BY APRIL 1

MAY 18–JUNE 2

Find out for yourself what's going on in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Join The Nation Fact-Finders for a thought-provoking journey to the heart of the Middle East.

Leading the tour will be Arthur Samuelson, editor at Summit Books and a former editor of *New Outlook* magazine in Israel. Samuelson has written on Israel for *The Nation*, *Saturday Review*, *The Progressive* and *Inquiry* and most recently edited Abba Eban's *Heritage*.

Last June, The Nation Fact-Finders visited Israel and returned with an enriched understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of Israeli and Palestinian society. Tour participants met with many Israelis and Palestinians including: Labor Member of Knesset Abba Eban, Likud MK Ehud Olmert, feminist and civil rights activist MK Shulamit Aloni, Director General of the Foreign Ministry David Kimche, Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem, deposed Mayor Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, author A.B. Yehoshua, Bir Zeit University Prof. Salim Tamari, and researcher Meron Benvenisti. Here's what some Fact-Finders veterans had to say afterward:

"It was a wonderful, stimulating and informative trip. Within Israel the selection of speakers was much more balanced than I expected."
Arthur Meth, San Diego, California

"On the whole this trip was nearly perfect. . . . I learned a great deal from it."
Jennie Baer, Deerfield Beach, Florida

"THIS WAS AN EXCELLENT TOUR!"
James and Colleen Kelly Johnston, Wichita, Kansas

- **Meetings with top government and opposition leaders.**
- **A firsthand look at conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including:**
  —Meetings with Jewish settlers.
  —Meetings with prominent Palestinians.
- **An examination of Israel's security needs, including:**
  —A point-counterpoint on the invasion of Lebanon.
  —A visit to the northern border and the Golan Heights.
- **Seminars with peace movement activists.**
- **Seminars and/or on-site exposure to other important aspects of Israeli society and politics, including:**
  —The economy: problems and solutions.
  —Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust.
  —The Arab minority in Israel.
  —The Ashkenazi-Sefardi gap.
  —Religion: orthodoxy vs. pluralism.
- **A sampling of the area's natural, historical and cultural wealth, including:**
  —A visit to Massada, a walking tour of the Old City of Jerusalem, a concert in Tel Aviv and a night at the guest house of Kibbutz Nof Ginossar, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.
  —Plenty of free time to explore on your own.
- **Optional trips to Egypt or the Sinai Desert.**

Price: $2,500 per person (same as last year). This includes accommodations (double occupancy in first-class hotels in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv), all meals (except some lunches and dinners), airfare to and from New York City, comprehensive background reading material and all transportation, sightseeing and related costs while in Israel. We are offering a 5 percent individual discount to Nation Associates.

Space is limited, so plan ahead. Send a deposit of $200 per person to guarantee your place on the tour. All deposits are due April 1. (Make checks payable to RG Travel). Or send us the attached coupon for more information.

SEND TO:
The Nation Fact-Finders
c/o RG Travel
5 Beekman St., Suite 424
New York, NY 10038

☐ Enclosed is my deposit of $_____ for _____ person(s).
☐ Please send me more information on The Nation Fact-Finders Tour to Israel.
☐ Check here if you are a Nation Associate.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Under the coalition agreement that brought the current government to power, Peres must surrender the premiership to Shamir, the Likud leader, late next year. Few Israelis believe that will happen. Although he serves as Foreign Minister, Shamir has been virtually excluded from power in the Cabinet and is already regarded as a has-been in Israeli politics. If Sharon succeeds in unseating him as Likud leader, Sharon will no doubt break up the coalition. If Sharon fails, Peres himself, rather than relinquish power to Shamir, would surely find a pretext to bring down the government and call a new election.

According to the polls, Peres's popularity is growing every day, and if an election were held today he would win an overwhelming victory. But Israeli polls are notoriously unreliable, and a reversion to Likud, with Sharon at its head, is far from impossible. Such a result would turn current trends around and restore the atmosphere that was so damaging to stability. Despite the signs that Israel has begun its political and economic convalescence, it is still too early to say that the country is well on the road to recovery. □

Undoing

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

tsyn's words and ideology. They use an effective distribution system to disseminate a steady stream of propaganda critical of the United States and Europe. Life in the West is worse than it is in the Soviet Union, they say; democracy is a corrupt system of government, the West is hostile to the people of the Soviet Union and it is doomed to collapse before the onslaught of Communism.

When the Soviet media propagate such ideas the people are skeptical. When they hear them from Solzhenitsyn and his circle of dissidents, they are more receptive. Moreover, the publications and broadcasts transmitting the Solzhenitsyn message rarely permit any opposing views to be heard.

A final touch of irony is that all these outlets are financed by U.S. government funds or by private donations from staunch anti-Communists in the West. In the mistaken belief that Solzhenitsyn and his supporters constitute the sole legitimate voice of dissent, those backers have given them almost complete control over what is transmitted to the people of the Soviet Union.

Consider Radio Liberty, the U.S. government-run news and information station that is heard in the Soviet Union. Last August, the station broadcast an anti-Semitic passage from Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914*. That was not the first time it had carried such sentiments expressed by him and others. The station also provides a platform for the novelist's emotional antidemocratic views. In December 1982 it broadcast a speech in which Solzhenitsyn castigated Western democracy as a system "bordering on chaos, on state treason, on the right to freely destroy one's own country."

In contrast to the well-funded Solzhenitsyn apparat, democratic émigré groups lack financial resources and have few publications and poor distribution in the Soviet Union. Because they are underfinanced, their journals tend to be short-lived. The market for Russian-language political literature is too small to support them, so they must depend on subsidies.

Unlike Solzhenitsyn, who devotes all his energy to castigating the West and Western-oriented democrats in past and present-day Russia, the media organs loyal to him continue to criticize the Soviet system. Their Western sponsors are apparently unaware that criticism of the regime carries little weight among the Soviet people. (Twenty or thirty years ago it was another matter.) The people are influenced by statements like this by Solzhenitsyn:

> Today's Western society, ever more consumer-oriented, disillusioned with work, hedonistic, with broken families, addicted to drugs, atheistic and paralyzed by terrorism, has exhausted its vital force, has lost its spiritual health, and cannot survive in its present form.

Most Soviet émigrés would say the opposite: If anything, most people in the West work too hard; it is the Russians who are disillusioned with work. Solzhenitsyn's diatribe totally ignores reality—and this from a man who became famous for his call "not to live by lies."

But how can most Russians properly assess his opinions when they know so little about life in the West? On another occasion, he wrote that Soviet émigrés in the United States have witnessed "the absence of elementary state order" and "the destruction of the school and moral destruction of children." Even a Soviet propagandist wouldn't go that far.

Solzhenitsyn's associate Vladimir Maksimov, editor of the journal *Kontinent*, believes that while the process of social decay is reversible in the Soviet Union, in the West the situation is hopeless. He asks:

> Are we to assume the responsibility for dooming the future Russia to that same fate [the fate of the West] and once more finding ourselves in an atmosphere of spiritual decay, before the doors of churches standing empty, before a new and already irreversible degeneration?

The overwhelming majority of thinking people in the Soviet Union used to believe that democracy was the only alternative to the totalitarian regime. In 1974, before he emigrated, Solzhenitsyn himself acknowledged:

> Among Soviet citizens possessing an independent turn of mind, it is almost universally held that what our society needs is FREEDOM and a multi-party parliamentary system. This view is so unanimous that it even seems indecent to object to it (in unofficial circles, of course). This almost complete unanimity is a result of our traditional passive imitation of the West.

Solzhenitsyn and his acolytes, financed by Western anti-Communists, are now telling Soviet citizens that they must reject freedom and a democratic political system because those things have brought the West to a state of "irreversible degeneration."

Vadim Belotserkovsky is a writer living in Munich who works for Radio Liberty. A member of the Human Rights Group in Moscow, he emigrated in 1972. This article was translated from the Russian.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

Central America
Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution today, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history.

Fifteen Years of the Burger Court
Herman Schwartz and his cadre of twelve leading lawyers and scholars put together an invaluable assessment of the Burger Court. Leaving no stone unturned, the authors scrutinize the last fifteen years of "intense judicial activism" in a thought-provoking manner. No lawyer, student of the courts or concerned citizen should be without this issue.

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It
Published on the eve of the first anniversary of the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, this issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the tragedy. After a year of thorough research, author David Pearson concludes that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry.

The Strange Correspondence of Morris Ernst & John Edgar Hoover, 1939–1964
Harrison E. Salisbury, the award-winning journalist, details how the director of the F.B.I. exploited and debased the confidence of a leading civil libertarian, and in so doing seriously compromised the A.C.L.U. Salisbury draws on some 300 exchanges to document the extent to which the machinations of the "top constable" profaned the democratic process.

Latin America: A Political Guide
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

El Salvador
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

A Letter to America
The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

Intervention
Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement
Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear Samizdat
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology
From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine leading experts explore and explain the latest arms technology—both "conventional" and nuclear—and trace the political decisions which have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before.

Empire as a Way of Life
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

Myths of the Middle East
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

The Selling of Japan
From every quarter American business is urged to adopt some feature of Japan's stunningly successful economic model. But is this model applicable to the United States? What are the implications of Japanese solutions to the problems of American business? This issue opens up and expands the "Japan debate," while shattering some of the myths about the Japanese economic system now in circulation.

Feminist Books
Today, an exciting new feminist scholarship is re-evaluating a host of subjects from sexuality to the history of socialism to coeducation. This special issue offers an up-to-date sampling of recent offerings in a field that is more lively, contradictory and urgent than ever.

Back Issues of The Nation
Back issues are $3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)

THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $1.50 ea.			
50-99: $1.00 ea.			
100-499: $ .75 ea.			
500 or more: $ .50 ea.			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required.** (U.S. currency only.)

NR8510

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of particular comfort to the Soviet regime is the message of Solzhenitsyn and his group that the United States is hostile toward the people of the Soviet Union. In a letter to President Reagan dated May 3, 1982, and broadcast on Radio Liberty, Solzhenitsyn elaborated on that belief:

> Some American generals propose destroying the Russian population selectively by means of a nuclear strike. . . . Here manifests itself that hostile attitude towards Russia as such, towards the land and the people, outside the state context, that is characteristic of a considerable part of educated American society, of American financial circles, and, alas, even of your advisors.

On another occasion, this time in an émigré journal, he wrote, "Here . . . one may be certain of the reaction [of the West]: the Russians must be destroyed!" And so on, from one utterance to the next. The Russian-language media disseminate such views undiluted to the Soviet Union.

It is important to understand that Solzhenitsyn's anti-Western propaganda has an effect even on that majority of independent-minded people in the Soviet Union who do not share his views. It is difficult for them to imagine that he could now be living by lies in the West. There is a Russian proverb that says "horseradish is no sweeter than radish." Is it worth exchanging the Communist radish for a bourgeois-democratic horseradish? Particularly when the horseradish is on its way out or, as Solzhenitsyn puts it:

> It leaves a tragi-comical impression how the pluralists [democratic dissidents] bring along their complaints and hopes and lay them at the feet of the West, blinded to the fact that the West is itself on the verge of perishing and is no longer capable of defending itself.

I left the Soviet Union in late 1972, and I shudder to think about the changes that have taken place in the minds of Soviet citizens since then. When I was there, no thoughtful person had any doubts about democracy, about the superiority of the Western way of life, about the strength of the West. Now, thanks to Solzhenitsyn and his assistants, and the media that work with them, nearly all have their doubts. I fear that those doubts contribute to the protracted and cowed passivity of Soviet society and to the suppression of opposition movements. The nationalistic and anti-Semitic propaganda of Solzhenitsyn and his émigré sympathizers serves only to divide the Soviet Union's multinational society, aiding the authorities in their policy of divide and rule.

Because Solzhenitsyn commands such authority in the Soviet Union, each of his anti-Western and defeatist utterances requires a rebuttal in the same issue of the newspaper or journal or on the same radio program. Instead, the anti-Soviet media have created a Solzhenitsyn personality cult. All his statements are greeted by panegyrics in typical Soviet style. He is referred to, as Stalin was, by his first name and patronymic, often without his surname: Aleksandr Isaevich teaches, calls upon, states and so on. The adjectives "great," "wise" and "uncompromising" garland his name. His articles, accompanied by large photographs, are set in bold type and featured as special supplements.

Impressed by "the prophet's" might, more and more Soviet émigrés are joining pro-Solzhenitsyn groups. That in turn increases the influence of their anti-Western and defeatist propaganda on people in their homeland.

The journal *Strana i mir*, which describes itself as liberal-democratic, was founded recently with solid financial support from American and other Western donors, but it has closed its pages to polemics against Solzhenitsyn and other anti-Western émigrés. Even independent commercial Russian-language publications in the West are afraid to publish such rebuttals.

At present, little can be done to insure that every anti-Western or antidemocratic utterance of Solzhenitsyn and company receives an immediate reply in the anti-Soviet media. A long-term program is needed to enlist the services of authoritative specialists, both Western and émigré, to write and distribute political literature analyzing and refuting Solzhenitsyn's charges.

Soviet propaganda would be toothless were it not for the support of Solzhenitsyn's "fifth column" in the West. How can Solzhenitsyn not realize what he is doing? Only a psychologist could say. The result, however, is quite clear. The goal of Russian nationalism is to oust decrepit Communism and become the protector and aggrandizer of a "great, single, indivisible Russia." But that imperial dream is incompatible with democracy. Consequently, advocates of democracy in the West are anathema to the Russian nationalists and must be discredited to the people of the Soviet Union. Lasting peace can come only if Soviet society emerges from its state of paralysis and if an indigenous mass democratic movement like Poland's Solidarity comes into being. Solzhenitsyn's propaganda can only discourage such a development.

Will Western leaders see the light? How can they not realize what Solzhenitsyn is doing? Does his self-proclaimed anti-Communism cause them to trust him blindly? Or could it be that they are not interested in defeating the "empire of evil" but in preserving it as a bogyman? If so, what better way to do so than to underwrite Solzhenitsyn's propaganda? □

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 290*)

perceived. With respect to Cambodia, the mainstream or visible left was at first understandably suspicious of reports of Khmer Rouge atrocities, seeing them as part of a U.S. propaganda effort to shift attention from the Vietnam debacle to Communist wrongdoing. And, indeed, careful research by Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, Gareth Porter and others confirms the view that the greater tragedy that befell the Cambodian people *preceded* the period of brutal rule by the Khmer Rouge. Part of my criticism of Shawcross's book was his failure to interpret Cambodian developments in light of that background.

As to Iran, the character of the revolutionary movement was not clear until the moderate elements clustered around Bani-Sadr lost out. Before then it was possible to guess about Khomeini's intentions or the relation of forces between moderate and fundamentalist elements in the Iranian revolution. Those who knew all along were themselves fundamentalists, merely of a contrary faith.

Much of the blood of this century has been spilled by those who make unconditional claims for certain versions of truth. My true left has no room for such claimants. *Richard Falk*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Belligerent Humanist

GEORGE KEARNS

THE INNOCENT EYE: On Modern Literature and the Arts. *By Roger Shattuck. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 362 pp. $18.95.*

Of the twenty-two pieces collected in Roger Shattuck's *The Innocent Eye*, only one, an attempt to define an early essay by Baudelaire as his first prose poem, is academic in the sense of being more interesting to specialists than to a general audience. For Shattuck, Commonwealth Professor of French at the University of Virginia, is an academic who chooses to write—drawing effortlessly on a dazzling range of reference—for a nonacademic audience. He assumes an intelligent general readership willing to share his delight before such works as Apollinaire's "Ocean-Letter," a typographical extravaganza in the form of a great wheel, the paintings of Magritte and Monet and the "jokes and quiet scandals" of Marcel Duchamp, and to share as well his impassioned attention to attacks on a broadly humanistic culture. The subtitle of the collection, *On Modern Literature and the Arts,* is in fact inadequate; *Modern Literature, Politics and the Arts* would be better. Shattuck's politics, I would say, resemble those of Edmund Burke, adapted for the 1980s by a playful mind. (But then, Burke had nothing to play with of the order of Christo's eighteen-foot-high nylon fence, erected between 1973 and 1976 over a twenty-four-mile stretch of Northern California while the cameras of the Maysles brothers looked on. Shattuck, with amused respect, recounts the history of the "Running Fence" in his essay "The Demon of Originality.")

With conscious bravado, Shattuck uses a vocabulary that younger critics, less secure or less belligerently humanistic, would never dare employ for fear of sounding naïve. We can read *Madame Bovary*, he tells us, to "learn about nineteenth-century provincial life" and to follow a "moving" story which we may "share with other readers as a point of reference for our sense of reality and moral values." Literature, itself scrupulously to be removed from the grid of ideology, can nevertheless "help us decide what to encourage and what to denounce." This way of talking about literature, of course, will not sound at all odd to readers unfamiliar with state-of-the-art literary criticism in our day. To practitioners and aficionados of that criticism, Shattuck will sound incorrigibly moldy-figgish. He knows exactly what he's doing.

Quoting the French novelist Michel Tournier with approval, Shattuck praises *sophia*, an ideal of wisdom, a "personal compound of knowledge and experience" that can never be reached by the shortcuts of theory or fashion; it is a virtue or quality that can only be acquired slowly. The pleasure of reading *The Innocent Eye*—apart from its colorful profusion of anecdote, its enlightening and witty commentary on the arts and its sharp polemics—is the pleasure of being in the presence of Shattuck's own considerable *sophia*. We can see at once the depth of his maturity as a critic and cultural historian if we contrast his recent work with the book that established his reputation a quarter of a century ago, *The Banquet Years*. Informative and entertaining, that account of avant-garde high jinks before the 1914 war was a young man's book, delightfully intoxicated by its subject. *The Innocent Eye* is wiser and less innocent by far.

There is a twofold political thrust to these essays, especially the ones written in the last four or five years. First, there is an Orwellian exposé of "bad faith" on the part of those intellectuals who have subordinated art and reason to ideology, a sort of update of Julian Benda's *La Trahison des Clercs*. Second, there is an attack, both sharp and dismissive, on post-structuralist, or "postmodern," linguistic-epistemological literary theory for its radical divorce of language from reality. (Here Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes are marked for disfavor.) This divorce is yet another kind of bad faith, one that has, for Shattuck, a dark, totalitarian potential.

The opening essay, with its tendentious title, "Having Congress: The Shame of the Thirties," is a brilliant re-creation of a chapter in modern cultural history. In the summer of 1935, 230 delegates representing thirty-eight countries were assembled in Paris for the First International Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture. Gide presided (this was one year before he published his disillusioned *Return From the U.S.S.R.*). Among those participating were Louis Aragon, André Malraux and Romain Rolland; a number of exiled German writers, including Bertolt Brecht and Anna Seghers; E.M. Forster and Aldous Huxley from England; and Mike Gold and Waldo Frank from New York. The Soviet delegation included Ilya Ehrenburg and a reluctant Boris Pasternak, whose name was not on the program and who was "brought to Paris on the last day, under duress and under guard." With what Shattuck notes as "bad faith that makes one wince," Henri Barbusse's *Monde* reported Pasternak's appearance as follows: "In spite of an illness from which he has been suffering for two months, the great Soviet lyric poet insisted on attending the Congress. He recited two poems, beautiful examples of the blossoming of the new socialist realism." Socialist realism, which was long to trouble left estheticians and artists, had been promulgated just a year before, in Zhdanov's famous speech to the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow. The Parisian Congress was an offshoot of the one in Moscow and one of the first major manifestations of the Comintern's new Popular Front policy.

Shattuck's reconstruction of the secret history of those turbulent five days in Paris is, of course, distinctly revisionist. His essay is based on extensive research, aided by the lucky find of some obscure newspaper clippings and press releases, as well as interviews with some of the survivors, including Aragon and Malraux. The participants recall it only as "anti-Fascist" and (Malraux) as an "impassioned confusion." They appear to have forgotten or to have been deliriously blind to the careful, sometimes brutal, stage-managing of events, and to the generally successful attempts to control who spoke, when they spoke—Brecht was abruptly shuffled into an obscure three-minute slot—and what they said. The scandal of the arrest and deportation to the Urals of the revolutionary writer Victor

George Kearns teaches at Rutgers University. He is the author of A Guide to Ezra Pound's Selected Cantos *(Rutgers University Press).*

LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Serge is a case in point: every effort was made to suppress any mention of Serge, and indeed anything that might be taken as a criticism of Stalinism. For Shattuck:

> This was one of the most thoroughly rigged and steamrollered assemblages ever perpetrated on the face of Western literature in the name of culture and freedom. . . . There sat some of Europe's most distinguished men of letters presiding over a meeting that systematically swept into a corner any dissent from the prevailing opinion that the true revolutionary spirit belonged to the Soviet government. Did they know better? Could they have known better?

These are indeed "sore questions," as Shattuck says, and the language in which the events were wrapped and reported seems particularly ripe material for George Orwell, who, in the summer of 1935 was not yet well enough known to be invited.

Shattuck's polemical history in "Having Congress" is, of course, part of a larger prophetic, antitheoretical and anti-ideological stance, adopted in defense of the ideographic uniqueness of the work of art and the "presumably bourgeois category of autonomous individual *self*." In the collection's afterword, "The Innocent Eye and the Armed Vision," he draws his own connection between his prophecy and Orwell's. The contemporary attack on traditional humanistic claims for the priority of acts of individual speech or writing—an attack deriving from what Shattuck sees, and he is not alone here, as a dubious extrapolation from Saussurian linguistics—is often carried out through a celebration of autonomous text or language. What frightens Shattuck is a fashionable position that "incinerates the whole humanistic tradition of persons and scatters the ashes across a landscape composed of language . . . and other collective entities." The implications of such theories

> are enormous and verge on the political. If language need not correspond to any reality of nature or of history and is merely a manipulation of conventions, we have come to the threshold of Orwell's newspeak and doublethink in *1984*—language prone to domination by a party.

Shattuck's intelligent reader may well be puzzled to hear that his defense of liberal humanism, of the individual author and the unique work, will be read as impossibly old-fashioned, if not reactionary, by more advanced members of departments of French and English.

Now, I'm by no means suggesting that Shattuck's treatment of the theoretical issues involved here is at all fair, or makes even a pretense of being thorough. His guerrilla attacks on Barthes, for instance, by way of selective quotation, hardly suggest, nor are they meant to, a just sense of the richness and ironies of one of the most engaging and *vif* writers of this century. I claim no more for Shattuck's essays than that they are informative and lively; they leave space, like the best conversation, for the reader/listener to question and object. Outrageous as he can be, Shattuck's voice is valuable, for a truly cultured and sophisticated conservatism is rare enough. Between the political bookends, as it were, are original essays celebrating the uniqueness of character, literature and painting that Shattuck relishes. The figures and works are mostly French, mostly modern: Alfred Jarry, whose 'Pataphysics "allows each person to live his life as an exception"; Marcel Duchamp, whose last ready-made may be the solemn scholarship that surrounds his reputation; "uproariously funny to a reader with his wits about him"; or Antonin Artaud, the subject of a refreshingly antiromantic and demythologizing study.

Brecht remarked in 1938, and it could not have been a new thought, "There is no longer any doubt—the struggle against ideology has become a new ideology." Roger Shattuck is perfectly aware that his own antitheoretical, anti-ideological positions are forms of theory and ideology. He knows, too, that the innocent vision has long ago been lost and is only partly to be recovered. "The important thing is to be able to find it again, and not by going back." □

The Phonographer

EVAN EISENBERG

THE GLENN GOULD READER. *Edited by Tim Page. Alfred A. Knopf. 476 pp. $20.*

My generation might be forgiven for harboring a grudge against Glenn Gould, since he left the concert stage before we had a chance to hear him. In fact, we were too busy listening to his records to mind. His records proved to us that classical music was not all sentiment and decorum, dressing up for concerts and pleasing one's teacher; that it could be sharp-boned and lonely, giving the same ecstasy as a chemistry set, a chess game or rain rushing the breach of a car window. And his writings, if only we had noticed them, could have given us more of that ecstasy, along with some hints on how it might be understood.

Now one of us, Tim Page, a music critic and friend of Gould, has had the good sense to collect nearly all Gould's published writings—essays, reviews, profiles, satires, liner notes and anomalies—as well as interviews with Gould by Gould, Page and others, and snippets from Gould's enormous output for radio and television. A glance at the table of contents ("We Who Are About to Be Disqualified Salute You!" "The Search for Petula Clark," "So You Want to Write a Fugue?" "The Grass is Always Greener in the Outtakes," "Data Bank on the Upward-Scuttling Mahler") suggests the breadth of this collection but not its depth, which is considerable. Except for John Cage, no contemporary musician I know of has written so imaginatively about music and its uses. But Gould's writing has been ignored, possibly because mere performers are not supposed to have ideas.

In his introduction, Page quotes B.H. Haggin's famous remark that Gould preferred "talking nonsense on anything anywhere to playing the piano marvelously in the concert hall." He does not mention that Haggin also said, in reporting on the pianist's 1964 lecture/recitals at Hunter College, that Gould was, "in some ways, a Canadian counterpart of Donald Tovey," who spoke "out of an awesome knowledge of particular works of all periods." That is not the only likeness. The quality of "gentle humor disciplined by charity" that Gould found in Tovey's writings I find in Gould's, and I find it a continual joy. Presumably, one whom the world has certified a genius can afford to be generous. But many so certified have not been. People like that—

Evan Eisenberg's book, The Recording Angel: Aspects of Phonography, *will be published by McGraw-Hill in the fall.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jealous gods like Mahler, Schönberg, Boulez—bemused Gould, and Boulez's "paramilitary" dispatches ("History is much like the guillotine. If a composer is not moving in the right direction, he will be killed, metaphorically speaking") brought him as near to anger as his constitution seemed to permit.

For Gould had a horror of art as it exists now, art red in brush and baton. His most fascinating essays sketch an alternative world in which, by the grace of electronics, "the audience would be the artist and their life would be art." Although it sounds eccentric, his thinking stems from a sturdy Canadian tradition—from the writings of Marshall McLuhan and the theologian Jean Le Moyne and from the hard pews of Protestant Toronto. Scattered across a vast, cold country, Canadians are as aware of technology, and as grateful for it, as Americans were a century ago, and perhaps as suspicious of art.

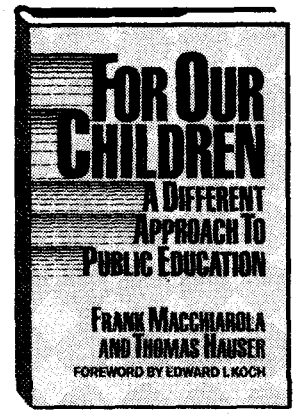
But Gould's view of art goes back to a man he never mentions, Plato. "The purpose of art is not the release of a momentary ejection of adrenaline but is, rather, the gradual, lifelong construction of a state of wonder and serenity." Except for the chemical, the sentence could almost be Plato's. To Gould, the catharsis that was Aristotle's prescription seemed far too dangerous. But something not unlike this is the regimen of the concert hall, where the audience becomes a mob, the artist a demagogue or a martyr or a clown. Better is the physically distant, intellectually direct relationship between artist and listener made possible by records. Best of all is the situation in which the artist disappears and the listener, shaping the music to his environment and his "project at hand," becomes the artist. When music becomes more fully "a part of our lives," it will "change them much more profoundly."

Where Plato in the *Laws* has his citizens organized in choirs, constantly chanting the song of virtue, Gould wants them to stay home and play creatively with their phonographs. The intention is the same, but typically Plato puts his faith in government, Gould in technology. Following Le Moyne, Gould argues that the "charity of the machine," by "distancing" us from one another and from the natural conditions that force us to compete, brings us closer to divinity: "A war, for instance, engaged in by computer-aimed missiles is a slightly better, slightly less objectionable war than one fought by clubs or spears." This is a question of taste. Probably more of us would join Gould in preferring records to the lions-and-Christians atmosphere of the concert hall. On the other hand, some musicians find that concerts concentrate their minds wonderfully. And blood lust is only one of the needs that concerts satisfy; there is also the need for public ritual and for a public architecture of time.

For this "high drama of human communication" Gould has no patience. "Art on its loftiest mission," he says, "is scarcely human at all." I like this; I scent in it not only Plato but the dank, heady odor of Schopenhauer, another ancestor Gould never mentions. But it hardly follows that "the ministrations of radio and the phonograph" will help "each man contemplatively create his own divinity." In theory, a computerized digital tape recorder might offer more opportunities for creativity than the kind of recorder people played in the Renaissance. One might, as Gould suggests, construct one's own "ideal performance" from several recordings of a work, or from a "kit" of the artist's alternate takes. In practice, though, most people will just sit back and listen, or at best string together, with all the artistry of sausage packers, cuts from their favorite records. For every Walter Carlos there will be a hundred Walter Mittys. My point is that in making certain high terrain trivially accessible, technology does not always impel us to go higher. So it's understandable that Cage, who starts from a Thoreauvian mysticism similar to Gould's, should come to a different conclusion: "Remove the records from Texas/and someone/will learn to sing."

Gould argues that when, at last, everybody is an artist, the artist will be a nobody—a specialized cell in the great electronic network. This ideal of medieval anonymity for the artist is a fantasy; it would have been a fantasy in the Middle Ages. Even then the artist did what he could to keep his name alive despite the indifference of church and court. But church and court wanted servants; the public of the electronic age wants stars. To blame this, as Gould does, on promoters and publicists is unfair. The impersonality of the electronic media is what makes the public crave personalities; "distancing" is what makes closeness, however bogus, a crying need. It was Gould's practical grasp

What Are Schools Really For?


FOR OUR CHILDREN
A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO PUBLIC EDUCATION
FRANK MACCHIAROLA AND THOMAS HAUSER
FOREWORD BY EDWARD I. KOCH

In this hardhitting book, a leading educator and a Pulitzer Prize nominee take aim at a host of special interests—from teachers' unions to school boards—and shift the public school issue to where it really belongs—the good of our children.

"A provocative challenge."—*American Library Association Booklist*

For Our Children, by Frank Macchiarola and Thomas Hauser, $11.95

At better bookstores, or from
Continuum
370 Lexington Avenue
New York, N Y 10017

"The Resurgent Religious Quest in Contemporary America and Its Social and Political Implications."

Hear Professor Peter Berger, author of *The Social Construction of Reality, A Rumor of Angels, Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural, The War Over the Family,* deliver the first in a new distinguished lecture series in the humanities.

Thursday, March 21 at 8 p.m.
Admission $7. Students $4.

92 St Y
Y-Charge
(212) 831-8603
92nd Street Y
1395 Lexington Ave.

A beneficiary of the UJA/Federation Campaign.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now that you've seen
Gandhi,
The Jewel in the Crown,
and *A Passage to India*...

The Imperial Imagination

Magic and Myth in Kipling's India
LEWIS D. WURGAFT

"Provocative and stimulating. . . . the work poses, then explores, a tension between two opposed British views of India: one, the libidinal pull of a land unknown, mysterious, and feminine; the other, the self-mastering repression and denial involved in the commitment to order and rule."—Thomas R. Metcalf, University of California, Berkeley

"A highly sophisticated yet readable analysis of the complex effect of India on the British psyche."—Robert A. Huttenback, American Historical Review

$24.95 49 *photos*

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:
Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

of this fact that made his own oddball career possible.

It may be that some classical musicians will successfully follow his example, marketing themselves as personalities without appearing in person. But the economics of recording are not charitable to serious musicians, so most will probably have to keep concertizing. And Gould, in his heart of hearts, may not have expected all the young musicians to follow him into the studio, any more than Thoreau expected America to follow him into the woods. His own recitals set an example for younger pianists, but the purifying of performance that he had begun could be completed only by an act of negation. One could even say, without irony, that Gould served the concert stage best by leaving it. As he wrote of Schönberg, "Whenever one honestly defies a tradition, one becomes, in reality, the more responsible to it."

But one never knows, or one knows only later. History may conclude that Gould was the one sane musician of the century; and his colleagues who work the continents like traveling salesmen, unpacking their hearts from Altoona to Vancouver, may seem as pathetic to our grandchildren as the bowing and scraping geniuses of the eighteenth century seem to us. Gould may prove to have been our Beethoven.

In any event, it is too bad that his morbid interest in the death of live music distracted us from his tidings that a new art, the art of recorded music—what I would call phonography—had been born. Gould was right to believe that the center of musical gravity is now the spindle hole. He was right to insist that recorded music be viewed not as a reproduction of the concert but as an independent art, as distinct from live music as film is distinct from theater.

Yet even this battle was perhaps being fought—by Gould, the producer John Culshaw and a handful of others—on the wrong turf. It had already been won in the realm of popular music, where creation took place in the studio and the concert was accepted as a promotional appearance in which one attempted to mimic one's records. Concert music, on the other hand, belonged by definition in the concert hall. And most of its repertoire was written out note for note, leaving the phonographer only so much leeway. One of the effects of recording is, of course, to break down the walls: all music is leveled on the flat, flat disk. Still, Gould was an odd apostle of phonography, for as a classical pianist he could not construct records as ambitiously as people like Stokowski, Stockhausen, Phil Spector or Frank Zappa. His contrapuntal radio documentaries were his only efforts at "composing" on tape (it is high time that these and numerous other works for CBC radio and television were made available to his Yankee public). But Gould was well equipped for his role as phonographer by a Platonic conviction that truth in art must take a back seat to goodness, or to a truth that is formally and morally higher. The splice was Gould's noble lie.

Although his early writing is dandified and Germanic—a horrible combination—most of Gould's prose has the clarity and wit of his pianism, if not quite its chill beauty. He may ornament a phrase with a jaunty cliché now and then, but the long line is always his own. At his pithiest he can stand comparison with Dwight Macdonald; at his wildest, with S.J. Perelman. Fortunately, Gould's charm is not missing from the half of this book that consists of musical analysis, in which (as Haggin said of the Hunter lectures) Gould pursues his interest in "the structural harmonic element of the music" at the expense of the "thematic melodic element," and therefore of the layman. The chase will amuse the reader even when its relevance to what his ears hear in music seems remote—when, for example, a widely spaced pair of A-flat octaves in Korngold's Second Piano Sonata, "attempting to dock on G," is "ineffectually tugged toward port by a pathetically underpowered minor third."

Tim Page's editing is a model of minimalism—and of objectivity, since one of the few radio talks he includes pokes fun at the minimalist composers Page has championed ("And you thought Carl Orff had found an easy way to make a living?"). His introduction is sensitive and to the point. The only major editorial decision that I question is the shaving of the marginalia from "The Prospects of Recording." The comments of Stokowski, Haggin, Culshaw, Milton Babbitt and others that flanked the essay in *High Fidelity* provided a useful context. They were solicited by Gould and gave the impression that the reader's comments were also solicited. As in music making, Gould did not care to have the last word. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Minimal and Mystical

FRANK ROSE

ROBERT WILSON: The Theater of Images. *Harper & Row. 158 pp. $24.95. Paper $14.95.*

EINSTEIN ON THE BEACH. *CBS Masterworks.*

This winter's revival of *Einstein on the Beach*, Robert Wilson and Philip Glass's epic meditation on the life and meaning of Albert Einstein, raised a number of interesting questions. It had been eight years since the work's brief and controversial premiere at the New York Metropolitan Opera, and so the most obvious question was how the new presentation at the Brooklyn Academy of Music would compare. Then there was the issue of whether the current audience, having had more exposure to Glass's hypnotic, incantatory music (if not to Wilson's equally hypnotic and incantatory theater), would be better prepared for such an unconventional operatic experience. And finally there was the question of how the work would stand up to the passage of time. This last was the one that mattered most; *Einstein* is very much a product of the Minimalist esthetic of the 1960s and 1970s, so its staying power is bound up in the larger issue of whether minimalism still has anything to say to us in this era of neo-expressionist fervor.

The idea of minimalism, as exemplified by Wilson's theater and Glass's music, is to use a deliberate paring down of means to achieve a resonant and transcendent end. But this is austere and demanding stuff, and so it's not surprising that it should provoke a reaction—particularly in America, where the patience necessary to appreciate such works has never been much valued. The current trend toward expressionism, exemplified by the angry histrionics of musicians like Glenn Branca and the paintings of Georg Baselitz and Julian Schnabel, is much more attuned to a public that is active, assertive and eager to get on with it.

By Wilson's standards, of course, *Einstein* is brisk: only four and a half hours without intermission, nothing like his *The Life and Times of Joseph Stalin*, which ran for twelve hours at the Brooklyn Academy in 1973, or his *KA MOUNTAIN AND GUARDenia TERRACE*, which ran nonstop for seven days and seven nights on an Iranian mountainside. Members of the audience are encouraged to wander in and out of the theater, and the resulting sense of freedom makes the strangeness of it all much easier to handle. And it is strange—like the rest of Wilson's work, it's a radical restatement of what theater ought to be and how we ought to respond to it. Instead of characterization and plot, what we have is a series of *tableaux vivants* which combine dance, music, sculpture and theater in an entrancing and at times profound contemplation of Einstein and much else that popped into Wilson's head. And what we make of all this depends to an unusual degree on what we bring to it.

People who come looking for drama and narrative will inevitably find this sort of thing unnerving. But there was no mass exodus this time, as there had been eight years ago at the Met. *Einstein* was, after all, the climax of BAM's eleven-week Next Wave Festival, America's leading showcase for the avant-garde, and what was revolutionary in 1976 seems much less so today. Laurie Anderson, Steve Reich, and Glass and Wilson themselves have made nonnarrative performance an accepted, even popular form among sophisticated audiences, while revivals of works such as Oskar Schlemmer's Bauhaus dances have helped give it historical perspective.

Einstein opens with the first of five "knee plays" (joints connecting the major scenes), in which choreographer Lucinda Childs and longtime Wilson associate Sheryl Sutton sit in a corner of the stage reciting a nonsense story written by a brain-damaged child, while a chorus sings numbers and solfège syllables. Act I, scene 1, contains the first of three train images: a small child stands on a high scaffold holding a plastic cube while a steam locomotive moves across the stage in profile; a woman marches back and forth across the stage; a man standing with his back to the audience writes equations on an invisible blackboard; and a thin shaft of bright white light descends across a backdrop so black it threatens to suck the light out of the theater. (Einstein liked trains as a child.)

Act I, scene 2, is the famous trial

Frank Rose is a contributing editor of Esquire.

ROCK & ROLL GETS SERIOUS!

Rock and Roll Confidential is where the music meets real life. Edited by Dave Marsh, the author of "Born to Run", RRC highlights the good (hot new bands and records), the bad (payola and radio formats) and the ugly (MTV). Thousands of rock fans--from John Cougar Mellencamp to record company executives, from roadies to DJs to steelworkers -- read this eight page newsletter each month. No ads, no puff pieces, just the truth. If the music still matters to you, but you're wondering where to plug in, search no more...

"The most interesting fanzine today"
--Michael Goldberg, ***Rolling Stone***

"The first tipsheet in the history of show business to deliver the hottest news in ethics"
--Bob Christgau, ***Village Voice***

"It can't be mistaken for an entertainment mag. though it's far more entertaining--and hip and funny --than Rolling Stone"
--Joyce Millman, Boston ***Pheonix***

Send $15 U.S. funds ($22 foreign) for a one year subscription to Duke & Duchess Ventures, c/o The Nation, 72 5th Ave.
New York NY 10011
Attn. Carole Kraemer

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State ____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scene. Childs appears as a witness, and the little boy and an aged black man sit behind the bench as judges, facing a large bed which occupies center stage. (Is science on trial here? Or sex?) After another knee play, Act II begins with a free-form sequence in which dancers swirl across a field; a spaceship hovers in the distance, and the musical ensemble and chorus send up a shriek that suggests irresistible force. (Are these the forces of nature that science enables us to harness?)

These three images—train, trial and field with spaceship—reappear throughout the opera, each time in a new guise: the train Einstein watches as a boy becomes the train he rides on his honeymoon and then the building that serves as his laboratory; the trial and the bed come back, accompanied by a jail cell, and then the bed comes back alone, rising mysteriously into the air; the field returns with the spaceship closer to us, and finally, in the last scene, we are inside the spaceship. A bizarre array of characters man instruments in a grid that looks like the set of *Hollywood Squares* while the little boy rides up and down in an elevator, a woman writhes helplessly in another elevator that moves horizontally and has a clock inside, a man onstage looks out at the audience through a telescope, and another man—Wilson himself—waves a flashlight through the air as though signaling a plane to come in for a landing. Meanwhile, on and off throughout the performance, a white-haired fellow who looks a lot like Einstein sits on a high stool in the orchestra pit, playing the violin. (Einstein played the violin to relax.)

Light and motion receive extraordinary treatment here. Light assumes an almost corporeal presence, an eerie physicality which raises it to the level of mystical force. Wilson treats it as sculpture, slicing it up, moving it around, using it to open chasms in the dense blackness of his backdrops. Motion becomes a way of playing with time—speeding it up or slowing it down with highly stylized movements that work with the tempos of Glass's music to create a hypnotic effect which is periodically shattered and then created anew.

Wilson's interest in the possibilities of movement came almost as early as his involvement in theater. To overcome a severe childhood stutter, he went to a ballet teacher who showed him how to use slow motion to control his body and then his speech. As a teen-ager, he taught special exercises to brain-damaged children, and in the 1960s, after coming to New York City from his hometown of Waco, Texas, he supported himself by leading body-awareness classes and working with disturbed children. His techniques enabled him to communicate with old people who hadn't spoken in months, and he once devised a kind of dance for iron-lung patients by putting strings in their teeth which enabled them to control a construction on the ceiling. The idea behind his therapy was to slow people down to the point where they became fully aware of what they were doing. In *Einstein* and in his other work, he applies that idea to the theater, slowing it down so that every gesture, every image seems laden with meaning. He forces us to question our everyday perceptions—which is, of course, what Einstein did, and why this opera makes sense at a level beyond literal representation.

Wilson's evolution from physical therapist to avant-garde dramaturge is one of many fascinating aspects of *Robert Wilson: The Theater of Images*. Like the studio recording of *Einstein on the Beach*, this is a crucial document for anyone with an interest in the contemporary avant-garde. Assembled with the cooperation of Wilson's corporate entity, the Byrd Hoffman Foundation (Byrd Hoffman was the teacher who helped him overcome his speech impediment), it's based on the catalogue from a 1980 exhibition at the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati. It contains essays by center director Robert Stearns and *New York Times* critic John Rockwell, an interview from *Theater* magazine, a 1974 *New Yorker* profile by Calvin Tomkins, a selection of Wilson's drawings, and black-and-white photographs of every major Wilson production, from *The King of Spain* (1969) to the initial segments of *the CIVIL warS* (1983).

If this sounds like a hodgepodge, it is, and sometimes an irritating one because the pictures and text are not correlated in any way. But it's also the first book-length treatment of Wilson, and much of what it has to say is enlightening. The Tomkins profile, which is built around the 1973 BAM production of *The Life and Times of Joseph Stalin*, contains intriguing anecdotes about Wilson's childhood, his role as guru to the unlikely and sometimes rather disturbed people who appear in his productions (they're known as "byrds"), and his unorthodox approach to celebrity. In Yugoslavia, for example, he gave a press conference in which he repeated the word "dinosaur" for twelve hours while cutting an onion. "Students and other people would come up and ask why I kept saying 'dinosaur,'" he told Tomkins, "and I'd keep saying 'Dinosaur, Dinosaur, Dinosaur,' and after a while I'd feel as though I had answered their question."

The four-record set of *Einstein on the Beach*, originally released in 1979 on Glass's Tomato label but long since out of print, contains some equally curious information. In his notes, Glass provides a detailed explanation of how *Einstein*'s musical structure is tied to Wilson's dramatic structure and to his own experiments with harmony. Glass was trained at the Juilliard School, but his formative influences came from India and North Africa. Unlike most Western composers, he uses rhythm as a base and adds harmony and melody later. His cyclically repeating rhythmic structures, like Wilson's stage pictures, don't tell a story or lead anywhere in the customary sense, although they do have a powerful momentum. But that doesn't mean the vocal parts—the numbers and the solfège syllables—have no meaning. On the contrary, they provide a running description of the music itself: the numbers describe the rhythm; the syllables, the pitch.

Given such austere and formal underpinnings, the expressive potential of Glass's music is remarkable. Again, like Wilson, he creates a mood. His music is mesmerizing, spellbinding, and once under the spell, we are free to wander. The formalism that lies at the root of it is as precise and mathematical as Bach's or Telemann's, and yet the sound that

CEO please note:

Engineer with extensive consumer-product experience (pri. and govt.) seeks position as Corporate

PRODUCT-SAFETY OFFICER

and/or

CONSUMER-AFFAIRS OMBINEER

(ombudsman/engineer)

P.O. Box 81, Glen Echo, MD 20812

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

results is as expressive of Einstein's age as theirs is of Newton's. But what can only be suggested on record is the deep sense of mysticism that emerges when the opera is performed. Together, Glass and Wilson set up a resonance that is far more powerful than any of the individual elements at their command. By purging their work of most of the conventional ingredients of music and drama, they create the possibility that something revelatory will happen, something transcendent and profound.

All this being said, however, it must be admitted that what finally makes *Einstein* so satisfying is its departure from minimalist technique at the end. Having lured its audience into a trance, it concludes with an unexpected moment of climax and resolution. The climax comes in the final spaceship scene, when a scrim with a mushroom cloud descends across the stage and the twin elevators, perhaps signifying the classical absolutes of space and time, are replaced by a single figure swooping through the air. The image is redolent with symbolism: humans, having freed themselves from the tyranny of reality as it is perceived, must now face the awful consequences of their knowledge. And then, at the very end, in the final knee play, all this has disappeared and we see two lovers sitting on a park bench while the wonderfully rich voice of actor Samuel Johnson tells a story—"a familiar story, a story that is so very, very old, and yet it is so new." The story is about the redeeming power of love, and it ends in the middle, suggesting that this is a story that will never end. After such a solemn meditation in the church of science, in the church of knowledge and destruction, this makes a powerful amen. □

Heavy Hands

ALICE DENHAM

THE LIFE AND LOVES OF A SHE-DEVIL. *By Fay Weldon. Pantheon. 256 pp. $13.95.*

Fay Weldon's heroine, Ruth, is a woman so thrillingly ugly she inspires dread even in herself. Energized by a well-orchestrated hatred, she determines to change her life and transforms herself into a she-devil. Weldon has never been better than in this outrageous satire of self-improvement. Her vision is as mordant here as it is accessible and funny.

Good wife Ruth, tall, dark and heavy, has a jutting jaw and a nature delicate enough to be offended by her husband Bobbo's passion for Mary Fisher, a petite blond romance novelist who lives, with her classic features, in the High Tower of her fiction. Ruth, Bobbo and their two children live what Bobbo calls the good life in the suburb of Eden Grove.

When Bobbo leaves her to live with Mary Fisher in the High Tower, Ruth's lifelong weeping turns to a hatred that liberates the she-devil within her; she is not afflicted by doubt like the good. She knows what she wants—revenge, power, money, "to be loved and not love in return." Ruth burns down her house, dumps her now homeless children on Mary and Bobbo in their love bower and manages to prod Mary's aging, incontinent mother out of her rest home and back into Mary's unwilling care—the better for trysting lovers to discover the messy details of love. Thus begins Ruth's raving quest through the dungeon of life for the grail of earthly beauty, acceptance and love.

Here, as in her other books, *Female Friends*, *Down Among the Women*, *Praxis* and *Puffball*, Weldon is dazzlingly inventive, a symphonic she-devil. Absurdity works for her as it does for few writers. Her exaggerated parable of love and power boasts rounded characters, a marvelously intricate plot and a style so polished and sure that it bites and snarls, then leaps to a lyrical kiss or to deadpan philosophy.

Just as Bobbo stole her strength, Ruth steals strength from others, and gains self-regard, by breaking the sexual "first rule . . . discrimination" with old Carver, the retarded caretaker. She works in undesirable places—rest homes, households, prisons—where "payment is usually small, but enough to keep the recipient alive and strong enough to get to work the next day." She studies secretarial skills and bookkeeping, work "not popular with men,

Alice Denham is the author of My Darling From the Lions *(Bobbs-Merrill),* Amo *(Coward, McCann).*

EVENTS.

APRIL ACTIONS FOR PEACE, JOBS AND JUSTICE

Four days of protest in Washington

APRIL 19 TO 22

Friday evening - Multi-faith service
Saturday - March and rally
Sunday - C.D. and lobbying training
Monday - C.D. actions and lobbying

For information call: Washington (202)667-9485, New York (212)243-6558, San Francisco (415)771-0882.

Buses from many cities

THE NATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA PRESENT

A DSA FRIDAY FORUM

MARCH 22 AT 8 PM

Religion: Opiate of the People or Force for Social Change? A debate between Michael Harrington, national DSA co-chair, and Christopher Hitchens of The Nation.

Machinist Hall
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

$4 donation/$2 low-income. For information, call DSA DC/MD, (202) 296-7693.

". . . and economic justice for all."

A TWO-DAY CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MILITARISM

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 9 to 4:30
SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 10 to 5

WITH: Barnet, Coffin, Dellums, Ehrenreich, Melman, Messinger, Velasquez.

$25 registration fee

AN INTERNATIONAL EVENING FOR PEACE AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 7:30 PM

WITH: Representative Ronald Dellums, Milu Vargas of Nicaragua, Motlalepula Chabaku of South Africa.

Music by Pete Seeger
Admission free.

Both events at Riverside Church, 120th Street and Riverside Drive.

For more information, contact the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, NYC, (212) 222-5900, ext. 238.

LET'S END THE COLD WAR AGAINST CUBA

A dialogue sponsored by the
HUMANIST SOCIETY OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK
a chapter of the
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

Guest Speaker: DR. WAYNE S. SMITH
Former chief of U.S. interests section in Havana, 1979-1982

Presiding: PROF. RICHARD FALK
Center of International Studies, Princeton University

MONDAY, APRIL 15

The New York University Club
123 West 43rd Street
New York City

6:30 pm Dinner and Reception, $19
8 pm Dialogue only, $5

Please send your name, address, phone and affiliation with your check payable to: Humanist Society of Metropolitan NY, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Reservations limited. For information call Jesse Gordon, (212) 687-2477.

EVENTS CONTINUED PAGE 316

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

1985 MARXIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE

Keynote Address by Michael Parenti

MARCH 21 TO 24
Cobb Hall
University of Chicago

Program and registration materials available from Marxist Educational Press, c/o Anthropology Department, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. (615) 922-7993. For Chicago information: (312) 475-7269.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

70TH ANNIVERSARY LUNCHEON

Speakers: ADM. GENE R. LAROCQUE, USN (Retired)
Center for Defense Information
NOMAZIZI SOKUDELA
African National Congress
YVONNE LOGAN
National President, W.I.L.P.F.

Chair: SISTER MARJORIE TUITE
Church Women United

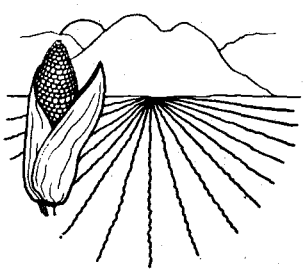
Award to: *MIRIAM FRIEDLANDER*
Councilwoman, New York City

SUNDAY, MARCH 24
Tower Suite, Time & Life Building
51st Street at Sixth Avenue
New York City

Cash Bar 12 noon to 1 pm
Luncheon 1 pm
$35 per person

For information call (212) 924-0048.

NATIONAL WORK-A-DAY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR



A CAMPAIGN OF NEW EL SALVADOR TODAY (NEST)

In response to the Reagan Administration bombing of civilians in El Salvador, we are asking people to donate one day's wage directly to the people living in liberated areas for the purchase of critically needed seeds, farming equipment and medicines.

DONATE A DAY'S WAGE FOR PEACE!

☐ I pledge $_____ (one day's wages). Please send me a WORK-A-DAY button.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

(Please send tax-deductible checks to NEST/WORK-A-DAY, Berkeley, CA 94704. (415) 549-2114.

who prefer to dictate letters and spend money rather than account for it." With a prison nurse and phony certificates she opens the Vesta Rose employment agency, and her ice-hot revenge escalates.

Eyes glinting red, Ruth's demonic energy appeals to her rival's manservant, Garcia, as a "bulk buy," and to Judge Bissop, who thought "ugly people . . . were in touch with a reality . . . he had been denied." The Judge, afraid of robbers and beauty, finds sentencing such a strain that he beats his wife when they have sex, an activity he transfers to Ruth, who deviously influences his decision on a sentence crucial to her. "'Am I hurting you?' he'd ask. 'Of course you are,' she'd reply politely."

Ruth not only wants total plastic surgery but insists that her legs and arms be shortened so she'll be no taller than Mary Fisher. The growing horror of Mary's punishment and Ruth's bizarre lust to be like her illustrates Weldon's premise about the fate of the stigmatized. Weldon has the guts to follow her audacious premise through to the end and not go soft and pretty. The reality of her fable lasts as long as you can tolerate it. If the horror of transforming revenge is too much for you, you can decide it's fantasy. But it's real enough. ☐

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

Ekkehard Schall
Tracers

Ekkehard Schall, who began his East Coast American tour two weeks ago in New York City, is said to be East Germany's greatest actor. He is also Bertolt Brecht's son-in-law, and he and his wife are the leading figures in Brecht's old company, the Berliner Ensemble. Neither the ensemble nor any of its members has ever performed in America before. But here is Schall, loose-jointed, supple-faced, close-cropped, clothed in a dapper wide-striped suit, looking as if he'd stepped from a drawing by George Grosz. He exudes energy. He leaps on chairs, dances a scimitar dance. And the program he presents is exactly what one would like to see: poems and songs by Brecht himself, performed in German, sometimes to piano accompaniment. (Semiliterate printed translations are available.)

The selection, though, is odd. Brecht's work contains, from a certain point of view, two aspects, which we might call the hammer and the sickle. Americans generally prefer the sickle—the Brechtian quick thrust, the deviousness and ambiguity, the ability to see around corners, the morality that goes in curves rather than straight up and down. The sickle aspect persuades us that Brecht possessed one of the great modern visions. It makes him a master in our eyes. Schall, however, emphasizes the hammer. There are poems and songs of oppression, of resistance, of revolution, of solidarity. Pound! Pound! Pound! You could march to some of them. He recites a speech from "Arturo Ui." It is a fascist rant, meant satirically, of course. "Murder!" he cries. "Extortion! Highway robbery!" He sells "protection" to vegetable dealers. He is an American gangster, but the tiny Hitler mustache gives him away. Then he turns to Brecht's "The Manifesto." It is a communist rant. No satire here. His face and eyes are expressive, and as the spotlights beam on him, spit shoots from his mouth in a silvery mist. First the spit explodes around his head and then the German words explode in the center of the spit, like fireworks within fireworks. He sits forward on his chair. There's no question this George Grosz figure despises the bourgeoisie. He hates communism's other enemies, too. "He who stands against [communism]," he says, "is not somebody who thinks differently,/But a nonthinker or one who thinks only of himself./An enemy of humanity/Terrible/Evil/Insensitive." I tell you, it's frightening to see.

Schall's performance at the Harold Clurman Theatre consists of two separate evenings. I was glad to attend evening number one but by evening number two I was a political refugee and quietly kept away.

Tracers, at the Public Theater, follows a squad of American soldiers from boot camp to Vietnam to the invasion of Cambodia and beyond. There isn't much plot, just scenes and vignettes of life at war: boredom at camp, fear on a patrol, an atmosphere of inanity, death and desperation. The actors move in choreographed patterns that conjure a sense of camaraderie, the boyishness of Army adventure, also the fierce,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tough, impersonal love that men and especially soldiers sometimes feel for one another. *Tracers* takes this emotion to the point of mawkishness. It also broadcasts too many Vietnam-era rock classics, which causes you to experience the play as a personal memory instead of a fresh perception.

Yet *Tracers* does impress you with its sincerity, no small thing. The play was written by a committee of Vietnam veterans in San Francisco, some of whom perform in the New York production along with other actors (and various members of the production staff) who are Vietnam veterans, too. This fact makes all the difference. The program notes tear your heart out. One actor "would like to dedicate this experience to the memory of all his brothers who didn't come home from Nam." John Di Fusco, who was instrumental in creating *Tracers*, dedicates his work "to Vincent J. Beregas, who died in Vietnam in 1967." Another "dedicates his performance to Vincent and Louis whose horrible deaths will never let him forget the brutality of war." You realize that if the play is sometimes overly nostalgic, it is because the men on stage are that way. The play's simplicity and directness are theirs. The result is that, watching *Tracers*, you feel closer to the war than anything else is likely to make you feel. The night I attended, the audience gave a standing ovation, not because the performances were so spectacular (though I should add that these veterans are theater professionals) but to honor the men for what they had been through and for communicating it so sincerely.

I've seen a number of political plays lately but none as effective as this, the least overtly political of them all. I wish everyone would see it. I wish road companies would take it on tour. The entire country would surely grow sad and thoughtful if everyone could watch these talented, likable, handsome, still-young men re-enact their experiences. □

ADVERTISE IN THE NATION
Call (212) 242-8400

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT DESIRED

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation intern seeks moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any info to The Nation, Box LAL, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or contact Laurie Lipper, (212) 242-8400.

NEW NATION EMPLOYEE from California seeking reasonably priced NYC apartment. Prefer lease but would consider subletting or house sitting. Call Neil Black at (212) 242-8400.

APARTMENT AVAILABLE

SUBLET, PARK SLOPE LOFT. 1200 square feet, north light, $500 per month. Available April 1, for 1½ to 2 months. Call David Acker at (718) 499-1521 or (212) 242-8400 (Wednesday through Friday).

ASSOCIATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE CABAL—WBAI PACIFICA. Seek to contact all past and present listeners in order to establish a network of all of us, object: fun and social change. Would like to hear your recollections and from anyone who has tapes of my broadcasts (am now writing a book). Send name, address, phone number to: Bob Fass-NAG, Box 332, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113.

BOOKS

FREE BOOKLETS: Life, death, soul, hell, resurrection, millennium, new earth. Bible Standard (NAT), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

BOOKS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $4 to Vector Associates, Box 6215-B, Bellevue, WA 98008. Or request details.

JESUS NONFICTIONAL! Historical evidence proves Resurrection of Christ! $4, Beckerle, Box 33006, Northglenn, Co 80233.

EDUCATION

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. 1985 sessions already under way—apply now! Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

IMPROVE YOUR MEMORY with a minimum effort. Amazing little-known formulas: how to remember people's names, faces, daily schedules, appointments, shopping lists. Master public speaking without using notes. Card playing strategy—much more. Money-back guarantee. Send $8.50 to: Burch, 3591 Eve Circle-G-2, Mira Loma, CA 91752.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution firsthand.

Live with a family.

Casa Nicaraguense de Español.

Phone (212) 949-4126 or write: 141 East 44th Street, Room 409, New York, NY 10017.

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MERCHANDISE

"NO MORE! No Vietnam War in Central America!" The background of this poster, a military coffin and the inscription "No More" originated during the Vietnam War and was widely circulated. Now the well-known artist Sam Wiener, angered by the Reagan Administration's war efforts in Central America, has forcefully expressed his outrage by splashing a fiery-red protest over the original. The posters, measuring 24½ by 19½ inches, are printed in three colors on high-gloss paper. They are available for $4 each, plus $1 for postage. (Orders of 5 or more are available for $3 per poster plus postage. Please inquire for special discounts on large quantity bulk orders.) Make checks payable to The Nation, and send to: The Nation, "No More," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME. A hilarious poster that classifies Hippies from 1965 to the present! Belly laughs or your money back. Read about See, Totalus Freakus, Religeo Fanaticus, Surfacus Tubas, Feminist Comotosus and more! Cartoons guaranteed laughs. A must for ex-Hippies and Hippies. Send $5 postage paid to Drew Gregory, 12902 Ranchwood Road, Santa Ana, CA 92705.

MONEY-MAKING OPPORTUNITIES

MAKE TWO THOUSAND PER MONTH
in the multilevel mail order business. For manual send $10 to: Earnest L. Riggs Enterprises, 3133 45th Avenue N., Birmingham, AL 35207.

PERSONALS

SINGLE PROFILE NEXUS creates a nationwide network of cultured singles. Box 19983, Orlando, FL 32814.

FOR PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE? Contact unattached like-minded, nationwide. CONCERNED SINGLES, Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles. 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081 or call (215) 566-2132.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL

ANTI-INTERVENTION STAFF. Duties: develop organizing materials, national campaigns, nationwide actions, communication among organizers. Primary focuses: Central America, Middle East, deadly connections. Miscellaneous office duties. Requirements: organizing experience on Third World intervention, writing, typing, coalition-building, interpersonal skills. Long hours, $200 to $250 per week plus health insurance. 3 weeks paid vacation. Begins June 17. Application deadline April 29.

MAGAZINE EDITOR. Duties: solicit, edit, lay out, paste up articles for quarterly magazine. Solicit ads and subscriptions. Work with editorial board and volunteers. Requirements: writing, editing, production, organizing skills. Familiarity with peace movement. Twenty-five hours per week, $125 weekly plus benefits. Application deadline March 17.

Both positions require a commitment to M.F.S. goals—zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, reverse the arms race, meeting human needs. Send resume and cover letter, indicating position desired, to: Personnel, M.F.S., 853 Broadway, Rm. 418, New York, NY 10003.

THE NATION INSTITUTE needs a part-time typist on a regular basis. Approximately 10 hours a week. Pay on the low side, interesting projects. Please contact Emily Sack at (212) 242-8400.

FINANCE COORDINATOR for progressive law school. Please contact Peoples College of Law, 660 S. Bonnie Brae Street, Los Angeles, CA 90057. (213) 483-0083.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR sought by the United States arm of Greenpeace, the international environmental organization. Based in Washington D.C., the director will be responsible for assisting the board, developing programs and strategies for ecological protection, managing large nonprofit organization with fifty-plus employees; developing a secure funding base, and providing a productive atmosphere for staff. Greenpeace encourages all minorities to apply. We are an Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity Employer. Salary $20K-$30K. Resume and letter of introduction to: Peter Bahouth, 286 Congress Street, Suite 1114, Boston MA 02111.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

SECRETARY to work with executive director of Detroit-area, health-related, community-based agency. Excellent error-free typing (65 w.p.m.) and use of dictating equipment required. Word processing proficiency (redactor preferred) and shorthand are desirable. Excellent fringe benefits and opportunities for advancement and promotions. Starting salary is commensurate with education and experience, $16,900 to $18,900. Send resume to Director, Box 31-5046, Detroit, MI 48231. Equal opportunity employer.

POSITIONS DESIRED

TONS OF RESEARCH—no time to do it? If that's your headache, call on a former Nation intern, experienced in research/fact-checking/proofreading. Call Ben Spier at (212) 316-1117.

PROGRESSIVE MAN, 40, highly committed, talented, energetic, seeks shift from career journalism in NYC-based social/political activism. Proven expertise in creative fund raising, publicity and promotion. Solid references. C. Taylor. (212) 989-7456.

PUBLICATIONS

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE PEOPLE. Socialist bi-weekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4/one year, includes free pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1/four months. The People (N1), 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

BARTER and the PRICE SYSTEM

REVIEW OF TRADE FROM EARLY TIMES UNTIL NOW.
$3.00
CIVIC INFORMATION COUNCIL
BOX 12861
ST. PAUL, MN 55112

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

THE SEXUALLY ADEQUATE FEMALE. $9.60, R.C. OWENS GROUP, Box 115-N, New York, NY 10116.

THE SESQUIPEDALIAN: language monthly, devoted to usage, vocabulary and etymology, $1 sample; $15 yearly. 706 NE 18th, Oklahoma City, OK 73105.

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY! Publicity, networking, subscription details on 400 periodicals—peace, politics, international, culture, etc. $5, Box N-120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE U.S. ECONOMY? $8, Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-N, Des Moines, IA 50306. Free catalogue.

RECIPES

DELICIOUS—12 unusual vegetarian recipes from Cookee's Cozy Kitchen, Volume 1. Low-cost dishes that make expensive-tasting meals! Send $1.50 to Cookee Klein, Box 1762, New York, NY 10185.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. Come to observe, support peace and nonintervention or to demonstrate solidarity. One-week trip delegations leaving from Los Angeles May, June, July, August. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 Fourth Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401.

BROADEN YOUR HORIZONS

on U.S.-Soviet relations. Join peace activists on Volga River Peace Cruise and visit Soviet cities. Contact Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460. Phone: (203) 878-4769.

THE HERITAGE OF CHINA

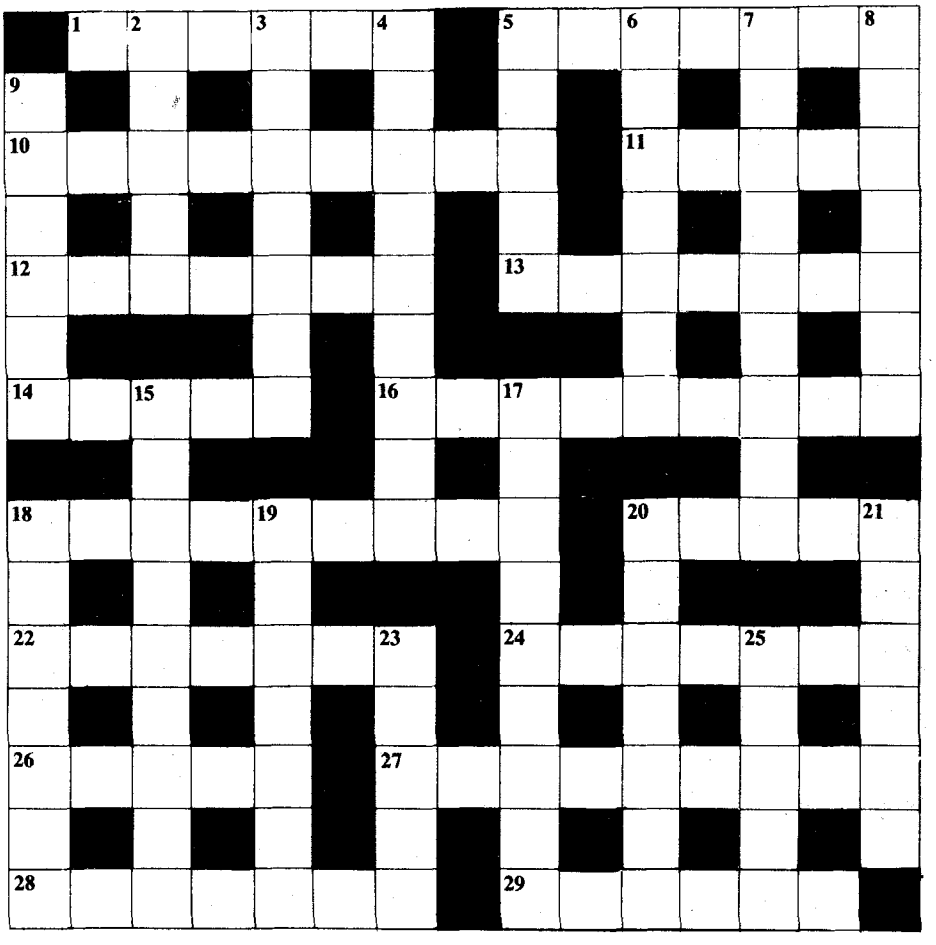
Explore China. Learn about Chinese culture in contrasting regions, including Xi'an. August 5 to 22. Reasonably priced. Graduate credit available. Write Intentional Travel, 209 Damron Drive, N. Manchester, IN 46962 or call (219) 982-4687.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2046

■	C	A	R	B	O	N	D	I	O	X	I	D	E	■
L	■	N	■	L	■	E	■	N	■	E	■	E	■	A
A	M	A	T	I	■	A	L	G	E	B	R	A	I	C
M	■	L	■	N	■	T	■	O	■	E	■	D	■	T
B	L	O	O	D	S	H	O	T	■	C	O	L	O	R
S	■	G	■	S	■	E	■	■	■	■	■	I	■	E
■	■	■	S	P	I	R	I	T	L	E	V	E	L	S
C	■	L	■	O	■	D	■	W	■	Y	■	R	■	S
H	E	A	R	T	H	S	T	O	N	E	S	■	■	■
A	■	K	■	■	■	■	■	M	■	S	■	C	■	Y
L	E	E	K	S	■	S	T	A	I	R	C	A	S	E
I	■	C	■	E	■	T	■	S	■	I	■	S	■	A
C	H	O	I	R	L	O	F	T	■	G	A	T	E	S
E	■	M	■	I	■	M	■	E	■	H	■	R	■	T
■	C	O	N	F	L	A	G	R	A	T	I	O	N	■

Crossword Puzzle No. 2047

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

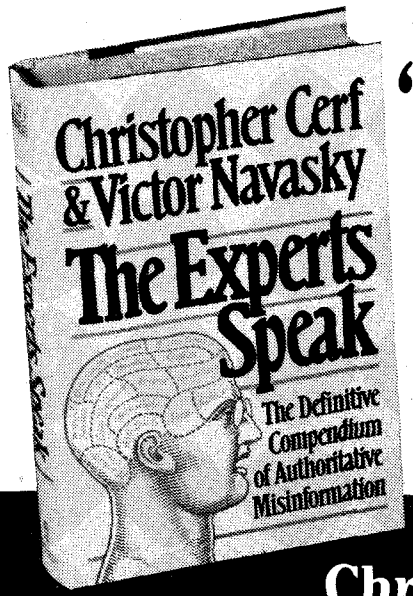
1 and 5 Gets the hose out more and more, and it might go into the washing machine. (5,8)
10 This way? No chance! (3,2,4)
11 Starts to query what some women put on top? (5)
12 Clipped, in more than one way. (7)
13 Rather caustic, in classicism or Dante's work in particular. (7)
14 A hot band might put them out, but an Arab band might include them. (5)
16 One might speed up the progress when the expert doesn't quite finish getting around to do the paper work. (9)
18 Sounds like one whose work might be intense, seemingly, but might solicit your vote. (9)
20 One like a rabbit has a number—a large number of women here! (5)
22 Part of what he got is the type associated with conceit. (7)
24 The Cockney's hairpins might provide something for the head, if you're complaining about it. (7)
26 A couple of points about to be illuminated by the upper class? (5)
27 He was, with some trouble, and used to cover things up. (9)
28 Real money for the old Spaniard was so divided, as any pirate buff knows. (7)
29 Some are frozen, some are liquid, like certain dishes, collectively. (6)

DOWN

2 Did Mr. Shaw sound a trifle too ostentatious in his display? (5)
3 Sound such and it might heighten the drama . . . (7)
4 . . . lending this to the plot. (9)
5 Used for caulking, a tree has gum mostly, but not at first. (5)
6 You might be in a class by yourself, if you are! (7)
7 Why the youngster couldn't play the arcade game implies a real killing! (2,7)
8 One who might lease something around the East, and come in again. (7)
9 Sounds like one who has a little hacking problem with the chest. (6)
15 Loud and obviously not caring, such people still have a good time. (3-6)
17 For each head it seems there might be a pirate cap fashioned. (3,6)
18 and 21 According to the French, the best of the English people have the most cordial association . . . (5,2,6)
19 . . . and people landed around it for food. (7)
20 Perhaps 10 helps, as a sort of it. (7)
21 See 18 down
23 Have possession of something inside, when the street is up around places larger than villages. (5)
25 Perhaps a sort of meat. (5)

LOCAL ONE LITHOGRAPHERS LABEL X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"This book is irreverent, unfair, subversive. What more could anyone ask for?" —DONALD MORRISON, *Time*

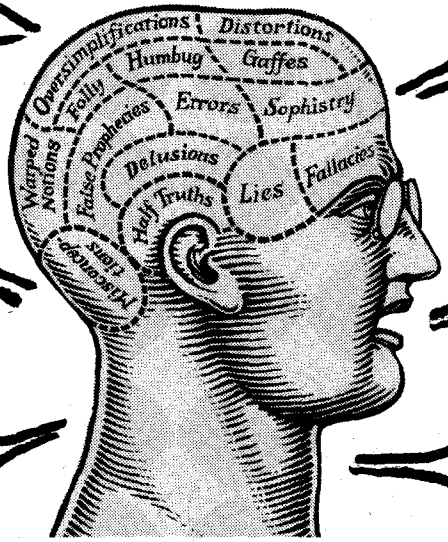
Christopher Cerf & Victor Navasky

THE EXPERTS SPEAK

The Definitive Compendium of Authoritative Misinformation

"Forget it, Louis, no Civil War picture ever made a nickel."
—Irving Thalberg to Louis B. Mayer (soon to make *Gone With the Wind*)

"I don't need bodyguards."
—James Hoffa (1975)



"No woman in my time will be Prime Minister."
—Margaret Thatcher (1969)

"The thought of being President frightens me. I do not think I want the job."
—Ronald Reagan, governor of California, 1973

"There is no reason for any individual to have a computer in their home."
—Ken Olson, President, Digital Equipment Corporation (1977)

"They couldn't hit an elephant at this dist—"
—Last words of General John Sedgwick, battle of Spotsylvania (1864)

"Wit animates this volume...the first collection ever of false expertise... Cerf and Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, are iconoclasts par excellence."
—RICHARD CAPLAN, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

"A wonderful book for our times...The perfect gift for any authority on anything."
—UPI

"One of the funniest and most ingenious list books I've ever seen ...the only one with a true sense of humor."
—PATRICIA HOLT, *San Francisco Chronicle*

"An incomparable volume...of words not to live by, but to eat."
—FRANCIS X. FEIGHAN, *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*

Now in 2nd big printing.

A joint project of *The Nation* Magazine and the Institute of Expertology. Illustrated with 75 photos and drawings. Paper $9.95, cloth $19.95; now at your bookstore, or use coupon to order.

PANTHEON BOOKS

RANDOM HOUSE MAIL SERVICE, Dept. 11-2 NAT
201 E. 50th St., N.Y. 10022
Please send me: THE EXPERTS SPEAK
☐ clothbound (52061-0) $19.95 ☐ paperback (71334-6) $9.95
Publisher pays postage and handling. If I am not satisfied, I may return the book postpaid within 10 days for full refund.
☐ Enclosed is my check/money order.
Or charge my ☐ American Express ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard
_____ Exp. date _____
Signature _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Please add sales tax where applicable. Price applies to U.S. and territories only. In Canada, write Random House of Canada, 1265 Aerowood Drive, Mississauga, Ontario L4W 1B9.
OOP 05 11-2 NAT

LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED